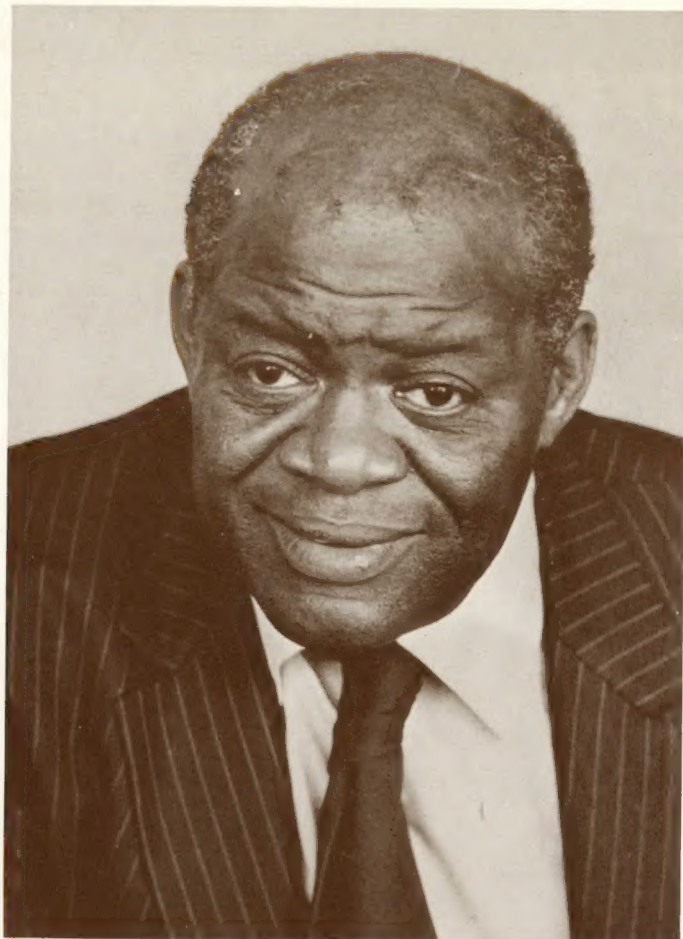


# Strategy for a Black Agenda | WINSTON

Paperback Price \$2.50

Clothbound \$7.50



Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10010

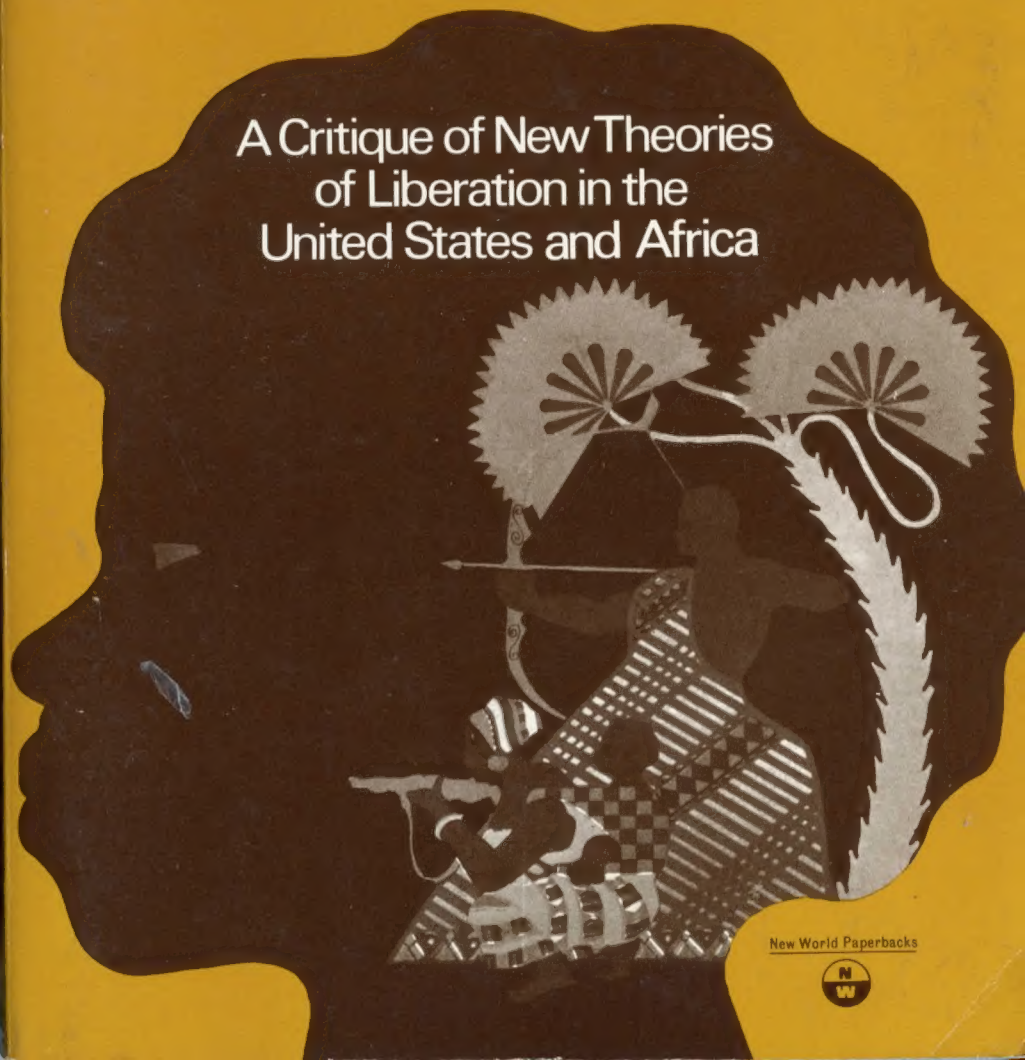
373

NW • 174 / \$2.50

# Strategy for a Black Agenda

by **HENRY WINSTON**

A Critique of New Theories  
of Liberation in the  
United States and Africa



New World Paperbacks



*To Fern*

# **Strategy for a Black Agenda**

**by HENRY WINSTON**

---

A Critique of New Theories  
of Liberation in the  
United States and Africa



INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS  
New York

Copyright © by INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., INC., 1973

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

First Edition, 1973

### Copyright Acknowledgments

"One Dimensional Man" by Herbert Marcuse, copyright 1966, Beacon Press; "The Hidden Heritage" by John Howard Lawson, copyright 1950, Citadel Press; "A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States" by Herbert Aptheker, copyright 1951, Citadel Press; "China's World" by J.S. Simmonds, copyright 1970 Australian National University Press and Columbia University Press; "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy" by H.A. Kissinger, copyright by New York Harper and Row 1957 for the Council On Foreign Relations, Inc.; "The King God Didn't Save" by John A. Williams, copyright 1970 by John A. Williams and reprinted by permission of Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc.; "Pan-Africanism or Communism" by George Padmore, copyright 1956 Dobs Books Ltd., London; "Captain Blackman" copyright 1972 by John A. Williams, reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Co., Inc.; "The Wretched of the Earth" Franz Fanon, tr. by Constance Farrington, reprinted by permission of Grove Press, Inc., copyright 1963 by Presence Africaine; "China: The Other Communism" by K.S. Karol, copyright 1967, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc.; "Where Do We Go From Here" by M.L. King, Jr., copyright 1968, Harper & Row; "The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten" by Forten, copyright 1967, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.; "African Liberation Movements" by Richard Gibson, published by the Oxford University Press 1972, Institute of Race Relations, 1972; "Beyond the New Left" by Herbert Marcuse, copyright 1965, 1966, 1968, 1969, 1970 by Dissent Publishing Corp., reprinted by permission of McCall Books, a Division of Saturday Review Press; "Sino-Soviet Relations 1964-65" by William E. Griffith, copyright by M.I.T. 1967; "Racism and the Class Struggle" by James Boggs, copyright 1970 by James Boggs and reprinted by permission of Monthly Review Press; "Revolution in Guinea" by A. Cabral, copyright 1970, reprinted by permission of Monthly Review Press; "Communist China 1949-1969" by Frank N. Trager and William Henderson, copyright 1970, New York University; "The Soviet Model and Underdeveloped Countries," by Charles K. Wilber, copyright 1969, University of North Carolina Press; "Urban Revolt in South Africa, 1960-1964" by E. Feit, copyright 1971, Northwestern University Press; "Freedom and Unity" by Nyerere, copyright 1967, Oxford University Press, London; "Ideology & Practice: Evolution of Chinese Communism" by James C. Hsiung, copyright 1970, Praeger Publishers, Inc.; "China and the World" by V.P. Dutt, copyright 1964, Praeger Publishers, Inc.; "Sino-American Relations, 1949-1971" by MacFarquhar, copyright 1971, Praeger Publishers, Inc.; "Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Africanism" by J.R. Hooker, copyright 1967, Praeger Publishers, Inc.; "An African Explains Apartheid" by J.K. Ngubane, copyright 1963, Praeger Publishers, Inc.; "The Foreign Relations of People's Republic of China" by Winberg Chai, copyright 1972 by Winberg Chai, reprinted by permission of G.P. Putnam's Sons; "Stokely Speaks" by Stokely Carmichael, copyright 1971, Random House, Inc.; "Rebellion in Newark" by Tom Hayden, copyright 1969, Random House, Inc.; "Contemporary China" ed. by Ruth Adams, copyright 1970, Pantheon Books/ A Division of Random House, Inc.; "Africa and the Politics of Unity" by E. Wallerstein, copyright 1970, Random House, Inc.; "Africa in Search of Democracy" by K.A. Busia, copyright 1967, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD.; "The State of the Nations" ed. by Michael F. Lofchie, University of California Press, 1971; "Poverty in America: A Book of Readings" copyright 1965, University of Michigan Press; "The Communist State in Disarray 1965-1971" by Bromke, Adam, and Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, University of Minnesota Press, copyright 1972.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: LC 73-80570

ISBN 0-7178-0403-8 (Cloth); 0-7178-0404-6 (Paperback)



Printed in the United States of America

## Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the many useful ideas, suggestions, and some fruits of others' researches which were offered to me in the course of the writing of this book. Valued insights and invaluable support was given me in the course of this work by my Party colleagues, Gus Hall, James E. Jackson, John Pittman, Charlene Mitchell, Claude Lightfoot, William L. Patterson, Alva Bauxenbaum, Roscoe Proctor, Jarvis Tyner, William W. Weinstone and many others were particularly helpful and encouraging toward the completion of this project.

I wish to express special thanks and deep appreciation for the exceptional contribution of Howard Mann. He assisted me in so many ways to realize this work in its present form. He was selflessly unstinting of his time, and generous in the sharing of his own fine talents.

The great experience and knowledge of the African reality of John Marks, the late Chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa and of the martyred Amilcar Cabral was in part shared with me during many unforgettable hours and I trust will find fitting expression in segments of this work.

I also want to acknowledge with appreciation the prompt and ever interested responses to my requests for particular source materials from Esther Jackson of *Freedomways* Magazine, George Murphy of the *Afro-American* newspaper, Hyman Lumer, Editor of *Political Affairs* and attorney John Abt.

My formal and informal talks, discussions and debates with many young people in trips across the country, especially young Black workers and students, men and women, have been invaluable in giving me added insight into the problems dealt with in this book.



#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Finally, I express my affectionate and profound appreciation to my wife Fern, for her sensitive and generous helpfulness during my work on this book, as in all things on the agenda of my life's work, by the dedication of this volume to her.

*Henry Winston*

New York, U.S.A.  
May, 1973.

#### Contents

1	BLACK LIBERATION: PARALLEL BUT DIFFERENT STRATEGIES	11
2	PADMORE, THE "FATHER" OF NEO-PAN-AFRICANISM	45
3	CONTRADICTIONS IN BARAKA'S "WORD MAGIC"	71
4	"WHERE THERE IS A VACUUM"	87
5	SOURCES OF NEO-PAN-AFRICANISM	93
6	MAOIST VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION	107
7	BEHIND THE SINO-SOVIET "BORDER" DISPUTE	127
8	ASIAN NATIONS ON THE SOVIET SIDE OF THE BORDER	133
9	THE "LEANING" THEORY OF MAO TSE-TUNG	147
10	THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" AND U.S. ESCALATION IN VIETNAM	167
11	SOUTH AFRICA: NEO-PAN-AFRICANISM AND MAOISM	177

12	THE CRISIS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY	207
13	THE MEANING OF SAN RAPHAEL	235
14	FROM ANTI-SLAVERY TO THE ANTI-MONOPOLY STRATEGY	267
15	STRATEGY FOR A BLACK AGENDA	287
	About the Author	323

## **Strategy for a Black Agenda**

# 1

## **BLACK LIBERATION: PARALLEL BUT DIFFERENT STRATEGIES**

The latter half of the 50's and most of the 60's were marked by new, parallel—but not identical—stages in the liberation struggles on the African continent and in the United States.

During this period an increasing number of African countries gained their political independence. In this—the first stage of liberation from imperialist oppression—open, direct colonial control of most of the African continent was broken, the exceptions being NATO and U.S.-backed Zimbabwe, South Africa and the Portuguese dominated countries.

In the United States, it was the time of Rosa Parks, of sit-ins, of Martin Luther King, of the great civil rights movement—marking a new stage of Black Liberation struggle within the last stronghold of racist imperialism.

As these developments unfolded, it became increasingly apparent that United States corporate monopoly would never passively reconcile itself to even the formal acqui-

tion of political independence in Africa or equality of citizenship in the U.S.—or to the people's liberation struggles anywhere in the world. It was a time in which the U.S. fiasco at the Bay of Pigs was followed by the unleashing of U.S. escalation of its criminal war in Vietnam, by the murder of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo and genocide in Indonesia.

Today, most of the peoples of Africa have entered the second stage of their struggle against imperialism and colonial enslavement. This new stage—in which the countries that had won formal political independence would soon find themselves confronted with new forms of neo-colonialist, imperialist penetration—was ushered in with the overthrow of Nkrumah by international capital and its accomplices, who are to be found wherever a struggle for liberation from race, class and national oppression and exploitation exists.

The maneuverings, plots and pressures of international capital, headed by U.S. imperialism, continue to threaten the independence of nations on the four continents. They are aimed especially against the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, but they are more immediately directed against those countries in Africa and elsewhere that show even the slightest sign of moving in a non-capitalist direction as the basis for safeguarding their newly won independence for opening the road to social progress.

While these newly independent countries—those with conservative as well as more progressive leadership—must all contend with neo-colonialist penetration, this does not mean that open and direct violence have disappeared from vast areas of Africa. On the contrary, tens of millions in the Portuguese, South African and Zimbabwe areas are faced ever more intensively with the old forms of colonialism, apartheid and violence maintained with the aid of the investments and weapons of Wall Street and Washington.

### *Parallel but not Identical*

As the struggle in Africa moved to its present stage, a parallel—but not identical—struggle was unfolding in the United States. The massive racist violence unleashed against the spontaneous upsurges in Watts, Detroit and Newark, and the assassination of Martin Luther King (not too long after the overthrow of Nkrumah) marked the end of one stage and the beginning of a new stage of Black liberation struggles in the U.S.

In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah was removed from the scene just as he was struggling seriously to overcome past errors, moving more consistently to develop policies that would give substance to independence through social progress internally and to the achievement of broad anti-imperialist unity in Africa and the world.

At approximately the same time, Martin Luther King was also rapidly moving toward more advanced political, ideological and strategic positions, aimed at carrying the struggle beyond the goal of civil rights which, though crucially important, could not alone embody the substance of genuine equality. King recognized that the descendants of the slaves could gain the substance of liberation only through a strategy in which the unity and self-action of the Blacks would be expressed as part of a wider anti-monopoly formation. With such a strategy the monopoly power would be confronted with a new majority of the oppressed and exploited of all colors. This would be the contemporary counterpart of the Frederick Douglass-Karl Marx strategy that brought about the defeat of the slave power in the Civil War.

But this strategy is not the objective of certain anti-Marxist pseudo-revolutionaries who, together with the advocates of Black Capitalism, today find common cause behind the banner of a new variant of Pan-Africanism. These seemingly conflicting elements, extreme radicals on the one hand and adherents of Black Capitalism on the other, have come



together on the ideological quicksand of neo-Garveyism and anti-Communism. Some of them even masquerade as adherents of the Pan-Africanism of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois—though, in certain cases their activities have been known to be funded by government agencies and corporate capital.

While the anti-monopoly strategy that King came to support is the only one that could effectively turn back the racist offensive of the monopolies and put the Black liberation struggle on a broader, firmer basis, these newly-hatched apostles of neo-Pan-Africanism continue to play into the hands of the racist monopolists who are trying to push Black America back to the pre-civil rights days—and worse!

The ideology and policies of these current variations of Garveyism are unrelated to the realities either of Africa or of Blacks in the United States, and are consequently unrelated to the Pan-Africanism of Du Bois.

### *Latest Ideological Flight from Reality*

This new ideological flight from reality equates the situation of Africans with that of Blacks in the United States, and hence confuses the strategy appropriate for the former with that suited to the latter. But these Garveyite versions of Pan-Africanism are as much an accommodation to the racist monopoly power of our time as were the policies of the emigrationists to the power of the slavocracy. Frederick Douglass branded this emigrationist version of Pan-Africanism (often funded by slave owners at the very time that they were expanding slavery and the slave trade) as accommodation to the expansion of colonialism in Africa and slavery in the United States. In similar fashion, neo-Pan-Africanism today only serves to aid the racist monopolists in their offensive against the Black liberation movement in the United States and against independence and liberation in Africa.

Today's advocates of Pan-Africanism misinterpret the meaning of the simultaneous appearance in Africa and the United States of two successive parallel stages in the struggle against racist imperialism: they are able to do this in a seemingly plausible manner because of the coincidence in time between the modern independence struggles in Africa, followed as they were by the post-independence stage, and the civil rights struggles in the U.S., followed in turn by the post-civil rights stage here.

Of course, the struggles of the peoples of Africa and of those of African descent in the United States evoke memories of a common heritage, of the experiences of centuries of struggle against racist oppression. And it is natural that the bond of solidarity which should unite the oppressed and exploited of every country and every race would create a special affinity between Africans and Blacks in the U.S., who are struggling against oppression on the home grounds of U.S. imperialism—one of the most powerful sources of oppression in Africa. This special affinity can add solidarity and strength to all the forces of class and national liberation, involving every race on every continent in the anti-imperialist revolutionary process.

But today's neo-Pan-Africanist anti-Communists, while claiming to speak in the name of Du Bois—the father of Pan-Africanism—are betraying the principles of this great man. All of the works of this giant among the giants of history led him inexorably towards Communism, and when he joined the Communist Party he proclaimed its principles as the highest and clearest expression of the aspirations motivating his entire life.

From his earliest days, Du Bois was inspired by the struggles of the African peoples. But he never interpreted this special affinity with Africa as in any way in conflict with the solidarity of all the oppressed against international capital. That is why he hailed the October socialist revolution which brought emancipation from Czarist racism and imperialism to many formerly oppressed nations.

It was as a member of the Communist Party of the United States that Du Bois went to Ghana where, to the very last, he gave of his great intellect and spirit in support of a project that expressed his own affinity and that of Black people in the United States with the peoples of Africa. And to the end he continued to identify the socialist countries, and first of all the Soviet Union, as the stronghold of solidarity of all workers and oppressed peoples of the world. For Du Bois, the affinity between oppressed Black-skinned peoples everywhere was an inseparable part of that larger affinity expressed in proletarian internationalism, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its science, philosophy and world outlook.

The goal for which Du Bois gave his last days and strength was that African countries, with the support of the Soviet Union and all the world anti-imperialist forces, guarantee their independence by taking a consistently anti-imperialist, non-capitalist path toward socialism. This culminating effort of his long life was at the same time an integral part of the struggle to adapt the broad Abolitionist strategy advocated by Marx and Douglass against the slave power during the Civil War to today's battle against monopoly capital in the United States.

The life and works of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois must be seen as totally at variance with the views of the neo-Pan-Africanists, who consider solidarity between Africans and Blacks in the United States to be in contradiction to solidarity between Blacks and the non-Black oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world. They claim that the path of liberation is one that people with black skins must travel alone, separate from the masses of oppressed and exploited who are not black-skinned—and without the powerful support of the many races and nationalities making up the socialist countries.

### *Suicidal Skin Strategy*

These current ideologists of false Pan-Africanism advance a suicidal skin strategy. According to them, liberation in the United States and Africa will come *not* from the solidarity of the many peoples in Africa with the Blacks in the United States, both of whom are fighting for freedom with strategies based on differing conditions in their own countries, on the specific situations and on the level and variety of forces that can be mobilized in particular countries at particular times. *But for these neo-Pan-Africanists, the color black in Africa and the color black in the United States call for one and the same strategy on both continents.*

The absurdity of an ideology that says liberation will come about from a purely skin strategy can be seen by comparing just one example of African diversity with the condition of Blacks in the United States:

In the Republic of South Africa, the only country of Black Africa with a substantial white population, Blacks are the overwhelming majority. Led by the African National Congress and the Communist Party of South Africa, armed struggle has become one of the forms for realizing the goal of the majority: liberation and self-determination by defeating the white imperialist oligarchy, supported by Japanese as well as U.S., British and West German monopoly capital. Even though Blacks are the *majority*, their aim is not continued separation from the white working class minority. They are uniting with those white South African revolutionists struggling to *separate* the white workers from the poison of racism so that there can be unity between them and the Black majority against the imperialist oppressor and exploiter.

In the Republic of South Africa, the Black majority is locked into a territory where the non-Black population is a tiny minority. In the United States, Blacks are a minority, but at the same time they constitute a vital segment of the majority facing a common enemy—monopoly.

Differences in skin color are used by monopoly capital to create and perpetuate division between the white majority and the Black minority in the United States, a division that originated not in differences of skin color, but from a different system—slavery—which was grafted on to the rising capitalist system.

This different system was the basis for developing the differential in the nature, intensity and character of the special oppression and exploitation of Black people as compared to the white masses.

But today the Black minority and the white majority are no longer separated by different economic systems. Now only the power of monopoly-fostered racism maintains disunity between Blacks and whites, and perpetuates discrimination against and super-exploitation of the Black minority.

Obviously, the go-it-alone neo-Pan-Africanist skin strategy is but the reverse side of the white ruling class strategy in this country. The neo-Pan-Africanist strategy objectively reinforces that of the monopolists, helps them retain power through manipulation of their twin weapons of racism and anti-Communism. While the ruling class promotes racist separatism for whites, the black skin strategists are busy working the other side of the street by advocating separatism for Black people.

### *Oppressors are Never Divided by Color*

World imperialism is the main enemy, with its strongest base in Washington and Wall Street. *But the imperialist enemy, its allies and collaborators come in many colors.* Imperialism is headquartered in Tokyo as well as in Washington, London, Bonn, Paris, Lisbon and Praetoria. The betrayers of the people—whether in the Sudan, the Congo, Ghana, Vietnam, Guatemala, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Pakistan, the Philippines, or Guyana, come in all colors.

*The oppressors themselves are never divided by color.* They compete and make war against each other—with the lives of the people—for the “right” to dominate and exploit. Among themselves, U.S., British, French, Italian, German, Japanese, Belgian, Dutch and South African imperialists are color-blind. They are likewise color-blind when it comes to bribing and manipulating the people’s betrayers in Asia, Africa and the Americas.

These color-blind monopolists exploit color differences to blind the oppressed to their common class interests, which imperatively calls for unity against imperialism.

At the beginning of this century, the young Du Bois stated that “the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line.” And today’s advocates of a skin strategy often quote this to justify linking Garveyism with Pan-Africanism. In this they take their cue from George Padmore, ignoring Du Bois’ record of uncompromising struggle against Garveyism in all its forms, and misinterpreting Du Bois’ meaning when he spoke of the “color line.” Du Bois was reiterating what Frederick Douglass had said in 1858, that “The relations subsisting between the white and black people of this country is the central question of the age.”

Even though, as he says in his autobiography, he was not yet a Marxist, the young Du Bois was correct in stating that the “color line” is indeed “the problem of the twentieth century.” In the same year that Du Bois advanced this concept, the young Lenin was applying the liberating ideas of Marx and Engels to the imperialist stage of capitalism, concluding that the workers and peoples within the Czarist Empire, as elsewhere throughout the imperialist world, could defeat their common oppressors only by overcoming disunity at the point of differences in color and nationality.

Lenin’s lifelong work demonstrates that he understood what Du Bois was driving at. Du Bois declared that the “color line” was the “problem” of the 20th Century—he did not say it was the *solution*. As Lenin demonstrated, the solution lies in a strategy to overcome the disunity of the op-

pressed and exploited at the line of differences in color or nationality.

Because Lenin led in building the first political party dedicated to a solution of the "color line" as "the problem of the 20th Century," the October socialist revolution was able to put an end, for the first time in history, to class, national and racial oppression.

This is why the Marxist-Leninist principles of the October Revolution to this day form the ideological basis for the solution to the problems of the 20th Century in Africa and in every other continent.

On the other hand, the neo-Pan-Africanists have turned Du Bois' famous statement into the opposite of its real meaning. *Their black skin color strategy aggravates the problem rather than offers a solution to the problem of the 20th Century.*

### ***Carmichael and Garvey***

In 1922, Marcus Garvey wrote:

The attitude of Negroes should be not to fight it (the Klan), not to aggravate it, but to think of what it means and say and do nothing. It will not help us to fight it or its program. The Negro numerical disadvantage is too great . . . the only way it (the problem of Black people) can be solved is for the Negro to create a government of his own in Africa. (*New York Age*)

And in 1971, Stokely Carmichael wrote:

It seems to me any clear black ideology that talks about revolution, understanding the necessity of a land base, must be pointed toward Africa, especially since we've decided that we're African people and Africa belongs to all African peoples. (*Stokely Speaks*, Vantage, New York, 1971, p. 203.)

The same question that the Honorable Marcus Garvey asked in 1922 is still relevant today: Where is the Black man's govern-

ment? Where is the government that is going to speak for our protection? . . . We're dealing with relationship of power, and I say we must make Africa our priority . . . If we are honest with ourselves, we know that there is no future in Babylon, U.S.A. (*Ibid.*, p. 205.)

It is quite clear that Carmichael's views, like those of Garvey in the 20's are an updated counterpart of the back-to-Africa separatists who earlier rejected participation in the anti-slavery movement. Carmichael states:

Pan-Africanism is the highest political expression of black power. It means one country, one government, one leader, one army, and this government will protect Africans all over the world whenever they face racial discrimination and economic exploitation. (*New York Times*, February 6, 1971.)

That the "back-to-Africa" ideology is for Carmichael, as it was for Garvey, a stratagem never actually intended as a practical alternative for the mass of the Black people is confirmed in *Stokely Speaks* (which was published less than two months after his previously quoted statement in *The New York Times*):

What should we do? Should we all go back to Africa? . . .

No, I am not saying we should all go back to Africa at this point. (p.206.)

Although Carmichael demagogically adds "We all have to go back there sooner or later," to this statement, he nevertheless confirms that his concept of Pan-Africanism is directed against the interests and the struggles of both Africans and the Black people in the U.S. In essence Carmichael is saying that even though the mass of Black Americans have no other place to go, they might as well give up the struggle against racism and poverty in the United States since there is "no future in Babylon."



When Carmichael states, "I am not saying we should all go back to Africa at this point," he clearly implies that *some* should go there *now*—that is, a small minority of Black students, professionals and business people. And he does not mean that they should go there to join the struggles of the African peoples, but as agents of U.S. monopoly, getting a "piece of the action" from the neo-colonialists' aims in Africa.

Carmichael is trying to influence this section of Black Americans to abandon their own people, to separate themselves not just from their white allies, but from the overwhelming mass of Black oppressed and the Black liberation struggle itself. Objectively, he is attempting to enlist them in the new stage of U.S. imperialism's neo-colonialist penetration of Africa.

When Carmichael tells Black Americans that they must have "one country, one government, one army" in Africa, it becomes clear that his Pan-Africanism is a part of the neo-colonialist African strategy of U.S. imperialism. This concept of Black power is not an anti-imperialist one; it is a surrender to racist monopoly in the United States and to enemies of self-determination for the peoples of the African continent.

Carmichael should know that the African continent is composed of many nations—Guinea, Ghana, Tanzania, Senegal and others which have already won their political independence, and consists, also, of the peoples waging armed struggle against Portuguese and South African imperialism as well.

Africans know that only colonialists speak of Africa as "one country." And when Carmichael talks of "one government, one army and one leader" for all of Africa, this can logically be interpreted as applying to U.S. imperialism—surely, more than any other of the big powers, the "one leader" of all the forces arrayed against the anti-imperialist struggles for self-determination on the African continent.

Since Carmichael's variety of Pan-Africanism, like Garvey's, is based on anti-Communism, it clearly follows that the African land base he is primarily concerned with is Guinea and those other countries which have chosen the non-capitalist path of development.

The Pan-Africanist Carmichael has proclaimed himself a disciple of Nkrumah. But it is notorious that Nkrumah was overthrown by CIA-backed forces who, like Carmichael, speak of anti-Communist "African Socialism," or, like Baraka, of "Ujama," a hodge-podge of so-called traditional "communalist" economics.

The more closely one examines the implications of Carmichael's Pan-Africanism, the clearer it becomes that it has nothing in common with Du Bois' anti-imperialist Pan-Africanism: solidarity in the struggle to oust imperialism from every part of Africa, rejection of anti-Communism and capitalism in favor of the non-capitalist path of development for each newly independent country.

### *The Pan-Africanism of Roy Innis*

Let us now examine the Pan-Africanism of the director of the Congress Of Racial Equality, Roy Innis, who, unlike Carmichael, has given up even the pretense of his former "militant" stance. Innis, now an open advocate of Nixon's "Black capitalism" policies in the United States and neo-colonialism in Africa, has called for the following:

—Invest Black money in Africa and open direct trade between the two groups.

—Organize Blacks so that "we can respond immediately here to the problems in Black Africa and to influence the American government to react within the best interest of Black African nations."

—Influence the American government to increase financial aid to Black African nations so that it equals the scale of aid that helped rehabilitate European countries following World War II.

—Send skilled Black professionals and technicians into Black African nations "living with the people, helping them, teaching and learning."

—"Respond to the military threats to the motherland from foreign attack."

—Allow Black Americans "dual citizenship as Americans as well as citizens of African nations." (*New York Times*, August 22, 1971.)

This program reveals that Innis' Pan-Africanism is similar in direction to Carmichael's seemingly more "militant" version. Like Carmichael's and other variants of currently fashionable Pan-African concepts, this program combines neo-tokenism at home with partnership in the neo-colonialist strategy for Africa, which today is four-pronged in structure.

Zionism simultaneously serves as the northern flank against the African liberation movements, and as a base against Soviet support to these struggles. Second, the United States has assigned South African imperialism, supported by London, Tokyo, Bonn and the other NATO partners of the U.S., the role of holding, and economically and militarily expanding the southern flank against the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Portuguese-dominated Africa.

The third prong of the U.S. African strategy is its direct support, in and out of the United Nations, to the blocking of sanctions against Rhodesia, and direct as well as NATO assistance to Portuguese colonialist genocide against the liberation struggles in the territories it dominates.

Finally, U.S. imperialism has assigned neo-Pan-Africanism the task of enlisting a minority of Black Americans as the ideological vanguard of its all-Africa strategy. The ideo-

logical thrust of today's Pan-Africanism sows confusion and disunity in the Black liberation movement at home, and encourages a small segment of the Black professionals and petty bourgeoisie to abandon their people at home in the name of helping African liberation. In other words, the role of Pan-Africanism within U.S. African strategy is to aid in penetrating African countries as they gain political independence, and to influence them to reject policies and leadership internally—and support externally from the socialist countries—that would help them choose and begin to advance along the non-capitalist path of development.

In connection with the role assigned the neo-Pan-Africanists, it should be noted that one of the points in the Innis program simultaneously draws its inspiration from George Padmore's admiration for Israel and Zionism's role in entrenching itself on Africa's northern flank.

Innis' call for dual citizenship for U.S. Blacks in Africa is akin to the existing practice of dual citizenship for U.S. Zionists in relation to Israel. This proposal is a flagrant example of the contempt of Innis' racist imperialist supporters for the sovereignty of the African countries.

There is also a kinship between Innis' call for "investing Black American money in Africa", and his support of "Black Capitalism" at home. In the U.S. this policy would at best mean token aid for a few at the expense of the great majority of Blacks. For Africa, "investing Black American money" would mean a change in form and color but not in content for the old colonial policy. Formerly, the British, French, German and Portuguese sent nationals with white skins to administer African possessions directly or to operate through "native" administrators. Now the United States policy aims at penetrating African countries by using U.S. Black nationals as the administrators and ideological vanguard of its economic and political expansion.

Innis calls for vast U.S. financial "aid" to African countries, equaling "the scale of the aid that helped rehabilitate European countries following World War II." But the sole

purpose of this "aid" was to prevent the working classes from coming to power and establishing socialism in most of the countries of Europe, and to heat up the cold war—building up the greatest military power in history, with the U.S. as global organizer of counter-revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America, all in the name of preventing the spread of Communism.

*Now, with the new level of liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere, including the United States, Africa's role within U.S. imperialist strategy looms larger than ever.*

*In this connection, neo-Pan-Africanism facilitates U.S. economic and military penetration at a time when the fear of socialism—which determined U.S. economic, military and political policy in post-World War II Europe, as it does today—appears in another form, playing a decisive role in shaping neo-colonialist policy in Africa as well as Asia and Latin America.*

Formerly, the colonial empires were concerned with ensuring the necessary condition for colonial plunder including direct political rule. But today most former colonies have won political independence and, striving for economic independence, are confronted with the question of which road to take—capitalist or non-capitalist. The U.S. neo-colonialist program aims at using U.S. power to direct these countries along capitalist lines, keeping them within the orbit of imperialism. This would, of course, as the history of this century demonstrates, greatly restrict their economic and social development. With this in view, U.S. imperialism is prepared to make concessions, hoping to save as much of its positions as possible now and regaining more later.

U.S. neo-colonialist policy is expressed in a constant search for an optimal strategy for consolidating and expanding the sphere of influence and domination of capitalism. At times, this search borders on experimentation as, for example, in the case of the bankrupt Alliance for Progress or the Peace Corps.

More recently, U.S. imperialism has sought ways to expand its domination in Africa while diminishing the visibil-

ity of this policy. The neo-Pan-Africanists help to further imperialism's "invisibility" within this area of U.S. neo-colonialist strategy.

### *James Foreman and the Skin Strategy*

Neo-Pan-Africanism, whether in its "international" form with its main focus on Africa, or its domestic form, emphasizing Black separatism, is always based on a purely skin analysis. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the "radical" James Foreman, even though on the surface he sometimes appears to reject a strategy based on color separatism. For instance, Foreman has stated that:

A purely skin analysis of the cause and continuing responsibility for our condition is not only theoretically incorrect, but because it is theoretically incorrect, it will lead to some serious mistakes in programming." (*The Political Thought of James Foreman*. Black Star Publishing, Detroit, 1970, p. 24.)

Yet, paradoxically, the title of the chapter in which he makes this observation is "Liberation Will Come From A Black Thing"!

Foreman's anti-Marxist concept of the Black condition in the U.S. as that of a colony leads him into the fantasy of "programming" the struggle of the Black minority as though it were the counterpart of the struggle in an African country where the oppressed are a decisive majority, seeking self-determination on a common territory in which a viable economy can be built.

Offering his domestic version of neo-Pan-African skin strategy, Foreman writes:

(Black people should) think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare *ourselves* to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world the forces of liberation are di-

recting their attacks against the U.S. That power is not greater than that of Black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets." (Ibid., p. 62. Emphasis added.)

Foreman's super-revolutionary "programming" is provocative, adventurist and suicidal. This "programming" would actually mean tokenism in struggle because the Black people, a minority—no matter how powerful its potential—cannot separately challenge the state power of monopoly capital. A go-it-alone skin strategy is the opposite of an anti-imperialist policy. Falsely advanced by Foreman in the name of Marxism, this separatist strategy would be disruptive to the building of anti-monopoly unity against racism and oppression.

No segment of the population can defeat the control of government by corporate monopoly via a go-it-alone skin strategy. This holds for the white working-class majority, as well as for the Black minority, now a vital part of the mass production industries of the country. The first requisite for bringing about an anti-monopoly liberating strategy is building joint action—the unity of Black and white labor.

No force in the country could match the power and strategic position of a united working class—white, Black, Brown, Red, Yellow. But even the power of a united working class could not bring about basic change if this unity were limited to pure-and-simple trade unionism—if it remained separate from a great anti-monopoly political struggle involving the Black people as a whole, and the mass of people of all colors and of every origin. In this light, Foreman's "militant" rhetoric can be seen even more clearly as the self-defeating tokenist strategy it in fact is.

### *Regression from Du Bois*

Personally, (writes Foreman) while I believe that ultimately the fight is for world socialism, I am not opposed to short-term objectives. For instance, the issue of Pan-Africanism is going to hit the stage inside the United States. This will be an advancement over many concepts, but it will not be enough if it does not speak to the economic framework of that Pan-Africanism. For inside Africa today there are many bourgeois nationalists running African governments and exploiting the people in the name of Pan-Africanism. We have the right to at least demand that people not regress from Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois who in his later years was pleading for Pan-African socialism. I am for Pan-African socialism if it means taking the wealth of Africa away from imperialists and using it for disposition of all oppressed people. (Ibid. p. 187.)

If one could take this statement out of context, it would be difficult to fault Foreman. However, considering that Foreman's overall positions run counter to the anti-imperialist unity of the socialist countries, and the world-wide forces of class and national liberation, it is necessary to take a closer look at these remarks.

It is sheer rhetoric to say that Africa's wealth must be put in the hands of its people without acknowledging that this goal can be attained only on the basis of a program against neo-colonialism. Moreover, Foreman's skin strategy is in direct conflict with an anti-imperialist strategy.

Foreman is certainly correct in saying that "the issue of Pan-Africanism is going to hit the stage inside the United States." But his own views merge with those very neo-Pan-Africanists he appears to criticize. His differences with them lie only in his predilection for "militant" rhetoric; in substance he accepts the current versions of Pan-Africanism that "regress from W. E. B. DuBois."

It is not enough to demand that they "speak to the economic framework of that Pan-Africanism." It is exactly in such general terms that "many bourgeois nationalists run-



ning African governments and exploiting the people in the name of Pan-Africanism" speak—while readily accommodating their policies to fit within the framework of the imperialists' neo-colonial economic penetration of African countries.

Foreman's "militant" concepts are regressive even in comparison with those of many bourgeois leaders of African governments. Most of the conservative government members of the Organization of African Unity, despite vacillations and inconsistencies, show a greater appreciation of the need for a common front against neo-colonialism than does "The Thought of James Foreman."

Foreman, as well as the other neo-Pan-Africanists, falls within the scope of U.S. imperialist strategy and the ideology of the bourgeois nationalist betrayers of the African peoples. The views of these neo-Pan-Africanists reflect the indifference to the national aspirations and the right of self-determination of the African countries—and they bypass the economic and social realities within each of these nations. At a time when the newly won independence of most African nations is threatened, when their very national existence depends on the political and economic policies they choose—whether accommodation to neo-colonialism or taking a non-capitalist, anti-imperialist direction—Foreman and others confuse the issue by advocating policies based on a spurious Pan-Africanism.

The protective canopy of such neo-Pan-Africanist generalities assists U.S. neo-colonialism in pursuing its economic, political and military goals in each specific country, whether in the Sudan, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Tanzania, Mozambique, etc. To retain independence where it has been won and to win it where it has not been, *requires policies within each African country that will lead to the end of dependence on neo-colonialism, that will move in the direction of non-capitalist development within the framework of the world revolutionary process—solidarity with the countries of socialism headed by the Soviet Union and with the world forces of class and national liberation.*

Foreman states that "ultimately the fight is for world socialism." He then proceeds to confuse the issue by giving the impression that socialism on the African continent is an immediate "short term" objective, rather than the ultimate result of a long process.

Although Foreman claims that Du Bois saw socialism as the immediate goal for Africa, this assertion contradicts Du Bois' conception of Pan-Africanism and the goal of socialism for the African continent. Du Bois saw that the immediate issues were self-determination and the choice between steps leading either to capitalism and submission to neo-colonialism or steps in the direction of socialism, away from capitalism. He became a member of the Communist Party, convinced that its Marxist-Leninist principles showed how socialism on a continent-wide basis, as on a world basis, must be national in form and socialist in content.

Du Bois' Pan-Africanism can only be realized when policy in each African country is determined by the principles of scientific socialism of the working class, as opposed to the so-called "African Socialism" of the national bourgeoisie. The goal of true Pan-Africanism can only be realized when the independent countries take an anti-imperialist direction, internally and internationally.

The future of Africa's continental unity, of Pan-Africanism and socialism as envisioned by Du Bois, will depend on the outcome of the struggle against those seeking to impose capitalism within each African country.

These *specific* struggles, developing unevenly in each country, are on the African agenda today. *This is where the so-called "short term" struggle is at right now.* Genuine Pan-Africanism can only emerge from expanding internationalist solidarity—winning and consolidating self-determination by defeating capitalism and neo-colonialism inside each African country.

Each new country where a non-capitalist path is taken speeds the day when Pan-African unity and socialism on a continent-wide basis will become a reality. This is the meaning of Du Bois' Pan-Africanism, which will evolve from a

voluntary association of diverse African nations. In such a context, the aspirations and culture of each nation will unfold, with each making its own distinct contribution to ultimate Pan-Africanism—an all-African amalgamation taking its place as part of a world system of socialism on every continent.

*It is clear that we should ask of James Foreman what he has demanded of others—that he “not regress from Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.”*

### ***The Skin Strategy and James Boggs***

James Boggs' views, like those of Foreman, Carmichael, Baraka and others, fall within George Padmore's anti-Communist, Pan-African conceptions, not those of W. E. B. Du Bois. Along with Foreman, Boggs especially directs his efforts toward expanding the influence of neo-Pan-Africanism and anti-Communism among Black workers, using the rhetoric of “Marxism” to project a skin strategy instead of a class strategy for Black liberation. He writes:

The three forms of struggle in which modern man has engaged are the struggle between nations, the struggle between classes, and the struggle between races. Of these three struggles, the struggle of the colored races against the white race is the one which includes the progressive aspects of the first two and at the same time penetrates most deeply into the essence of the human race or world mankind. (*Racism and the Class Struggle*. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1970, p. 49.)

To support his separatist concept, Boggs echoes the arguments of the white racist monopolists, stating that “white workers have been gaining at the expense of the Negroes for so long that for them to unite with the Negroes would be like cutting their own throats.” (Ibid., p. 10.) The fact is that white workers will *stop* cutting their own throats only when they overcome their racism and unite with Black workers in defense of their common class interests.

There is no separatist way out for white workers, just as there is no separatist narrow bourgeois-nationalist way out for Black workers. Boggs confuses the fact of race with the ideology of racism. But the fact of the multi-racial composition of the working class is not the source of racist discrimination and super-exploitation of Black workers. Racism is not a biological characteristic. It is a social phenomenon with a class origin and role. Racism has its source in a ruling class that, in modern times, has added the twin weapon of anti-Communism to keep the working class in the U.S. from waging a united class struggle against its monopolist enemy.

There is no way out for white workers without recognizing that their common class interests with Black workers demand that they themselves take the initiative in the fight to oust racism from the class struggle. And Black workers must also understand that they cannot put an end to their triple oppression by going it alone.

There are no substitutes for the *class* unity of the working class as a whole. This requires the equality of joint Black and white leadership of the working class, of Black workers in the leadership of the Black liberation movement, and all components of the working class leading all the oppressed and exploited against corporate monopoly.

Boggs continues:

Theoretically, it has always been assumed that it was the power structure of a society which promoted counter-revolution. But in the United States it is not so much what the power structure does that is encouraging the counter-revolution as what the white workers themselves are doing. (Ibid., p. 14.)

Here we see how narrow nationalism, as an expression of neo-Pan-Africanism, becomes an open apology for U.S. monopoly, taking the racist ruling class off the hook. Certainly, Boggs should be aware of what oppressed workers and peoples of every race in Africa, Asia and Latin America have come to know from bitter experience—that the U.S.

neo-colonialists are the source of counter-revolution in Africa and everywhere else, and that racism is and always has been used by them to maintain their power.

Unlike Boggs and the other neo-Pan-African fellow travelers of U.S. monopolist policies, the African opponents of neo-colonialism consider that the way Blacks in the U.S. can help defeat counter-revolution in Africa is with a strategy that unites oppressed Blacks in the U.S. and at the same time adds their strength toward building a wider, anti-monopoly struggle of all the oppressed and exploited against U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of all the peoples and races inside and outside the United States.

Narrow racial nationalism, including its current Pan-Africanist counterpart, leads to abandonment of the struggle against racism and counter-revolution, domestically and in Africa. That is why the anti-Communist monopolist enemies of Black liberation use their mass media and publishing houses to promote neo-Pan-Africanist ideology in every possible area of culture and politics—aiming to divert Blacks from a strategy that meets the needs of Black liberation today.

### *Neo-Pan-Africanism and Fiction*

Currently, the neo-Pan-Africanist flight from reality frequently finds expression in the novel, poetry and drama. For instance, in the latest novel by John A. Williams, a well-known Black writer, the following thoughts are expressed by the main character:

We insisted that we belonged, that we were Americans. Oh, yeah, we ran that down for a long time, without *once* realizing what the enemy always knew: the most basic instrument of warfare was possession of terrain from which to either launch an attack or to fight a defensive action. We don't have any. American terrain wasn't ours; it was in our possession only as a figment of our imagination . . .

What then? Guerrilla warfare; cadres would strike the cities and vanish into the black communities; acts of critical sabotage would bring Chuck to his knees. Oh, that rappin; oh, them empty phrases; oh, them sacrificial lambs. Let's go to P'eng: 'The people are the water and the guerrillas the fish, and without water the fish will die.'

A great concept simply put. A concept based on like *colors*. . . . A Black guerrilla in the United States would be just about as inconspicuous as a white guerrilla in the Nam. . . .

Where, where in the United States could large groups of Black people assemble to learn the art of war? Where could they escape the agents and electronic devices on the ground and in the air? Which blacks among us could we trust? Nowhere. None.

Africa, yes, where sky surveillance was almost nonexistent . . .

Now, suppose we just moved our people over there, not as soldiers in the strict sense, and became twenty-five interlocking colonies . . . I don't think the Premiers or Presidents have ever wished to throw their people into direct competition with Afro-Americans. I hope that's changed a little since World War II." (*Captain Blackman*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1972, pp. 327-328. Emphasis in the original.)

Williams' hero then goes on to outline how Black Americans, with the help of Africans would use Africa as a base for launching the struggle to liberate Blacks in the United States. But surely this is a case where fantasy in fiction mirrors fantasy in politics. Williams' novel accurately expresses the political implications of Pan-Africanism in the United States—right down to Roy Innis' call for dual citizenship, utterly disregarding the sovereignty of African nations.

Whether one says that Black people must survive only to find salvation in Africa, or if one varies this by stating that

Africa should be used as a base from which an elite force of Black American heroes would launch the great day of freedom for which almost 30 million Black folk would be waiting, it all adds up to the same thing—abandonment of struggle against monopoly and accommodation to the policies of U.S. imperialism at home and in Africa.

And it is interesting to note how Williams' books keep pace with the ever-changing fashions in detours to struggle. In 1972, Williams ridicules the idea that Black guerrillas in U.S. cities could "bring Chuck to his knees." However, in 1970 the same writer produced a book on Dr. Martin Luther King which distorted King's role and even includes F.B.I. slanders of him—that views adventurist "guerrilla" rhetoric as the proper alternative to King's direction!

In 1970, Williams sneered at the movement that fought to overcome the heritage resulting from the betrayal of Reconstruction as a new starting point for Black liberation:

In other words, the Negroes asked for what they had been getting all along . . . The stupidity and short-sightedness of the Montgomery city officials forced the MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association) to take its case to higher courts, and on November 13th, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision of the U.S. District Court that Alabama's state and local laws which embodied racial segregation throughout public accommodations were unconstitutional.

So, ironically, the segregationists helped create Martin King, the public man. Had they given in to the limited, mild requests of the MIA there might not have been this black Christian who for the next thirteen years cried for racial justice. . . .

The press at large and its national readership seemed much taken with the sight of numerous nonviolent black people bent in prayer—a reassuring picture indeed whose effects can be measured against those of armed black students coming out of a university building they have occupied or Black Panthers in a running gun battle with the Oakland, New York, Chicago, or

Los Angeles police. (*The King God Didn't Save*, Coward-McCann, New York, 1970, pp. 30-31.)

Williams reveals that his conception of the Civil Rights period was as mistaken as his endorsement of "picking up the gun." He does not recognize, as King did, that this great struggle was but the starting point of a grand strategy, one which needed to be broadened to bring Black workers and the working class as a whole into the center of a great movement, a movement that would reject the separatist and adventurist tendencies that only drained away both Black and white from an anti-monopoly struggle which imperatively needs both.

It took Williams two years to reject the fantasy of "picking up the gun." How long will it take him to reject neo-Pan-Africanism, the latest alternative to struggle against the common oppressor?

### *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism*

The works of John A. Williams and Imamu Amiri Baraka are examples of the interconnection between cultural nationalism in the novel, poetry, drama and politics. Cultural nationalism, the ideology of separatism in all its forms—including neo-Pan-Africanism—recognizes only the color aspect of Black oppression, translating this into a disregard of the monopoly class basis of the racist oppression of Black people.

Cultural nationalists, including neo-Pan-Africanists, fail to distinguish between the capitalist and the working class, fail to see that the working class is the only revolutionary class. In essence, they not only reject unity between Black and white workers; they also reject the leadership role of Black workers in the liberation movement for that of the Black nationalist bourgeoisie.



The study of the historical development of Afro-Americans as a distinct people and their economic, cultural and political contributions to the development of this country is of great importance. Interlinked with and illuminating the experience of the Black people in the United States is the study of their African background.

However, Black culture and history should not be viewed simply as a succession of events separate from the framework of class relations and class struggles in the development of the nation as a whole. And with this in mind, when one considers cultural nationalism, it is necessary to ask: does it express revolutionary or reactionary nationalism?

I am for the fullest development of the culture of every people, as for example, the right for the maximum development of the diverse national cultures of the peoples of Africa—but in a way that expresses the struggle for national and social progress.

In this connection can we, for example, be satisfied with the cultural nationalism of Imamu Baraka, who is quite skillful in the art of manipulating pride in the African past and the symbols of that past? Pride in the past should be expressed as pride in the history of resistance to slavery and the slave trade and of rejection of reactionary elements of the past, as of the present. Those, like Baraka, who speak of cultural nationalism out of context with the objective and subjective requisites for defeating imperialism are simply throwing dust in the eyes of the masses.

Pride must also be rooted and nourished in the realities of today's struggles. *Self-respect calls for rejecting ideologies inconsistent with today's struggle for liberation and social advance.* Black people will reject Baraka's separatist fantasies, refusing to exchange a distorted pride in the past for a real pride in the present.

Pride in the past can only be transmitted to the struggle today by saying no to all cultural and political concepts that either directly or indirectly work to assist U.S. racist monopolies to weaken the fight for liberation here and in Africa. This is why pride and self-respect cannot be based

on the current concepts of Pan-Africanism—concepts that rob it of its anti-imperialist content, translating Pan-Africanism into its opposite—accommodation to U.S. monopolist aims at home and in Africa.

Progressive Black culture expresses the struggle for liberation. It counters the white supremacist ideology of corporate monopoly. However, as Lenin pointed out, there are two cultures within every nation or people. The proletarian internationalist current of Black American culture rejects not only racism but the entire ideology of state monopoly capitalism.

It also rejects all forms of bourgeois nationalism—which means every type of separatism, whether it appears as Black cultural nationalism, Black capitalism, or the anti-Communist skin strategy of neo-Pan-Africanism. Every expression of nationalism, whether cultural or political, that is not also internationalist in content leads to one or another form of accommodation to U.S. imperialism, nationally or internationally.

The cultural nationalism espoused by Williams, Baraka and other neo-Pan-Africanists in general counterposes the entire culture of Blacks against the entire culture of whites. This falsifies reality, past and present, and strengthens racism.

On the one hand, it would have us accept as Black culture everything created by Blacks, without regard to its content. This would mean accepting, for instance, such works as the novels of Frank Yerby and *Les Cenelles*, an anthology of poetry published in 1845. Frank Yerby's novels, although set in the locale of the South during slavery, are devoid in their content of any semblance of struggle by Blacks. Recently, during a stay in fascist Spain where he was enjoying the fruits of royalties from his work, Yerby wrote contemptuously of the struggle of Blacks, asserting that of the 100 to 125 slave revolts in the U.S. over a span of 300 years, every one except Nat Turner's was betrayed by Blacks, and that 70 percent of all Blacks who became slaves were sold by

other Blacks. (*Speak Now*, by Frank Yerby, Dial Press, N.Y., 1969, page 98.)

*Les Cénelles* contained verse by a dozen young French-speaking Blacks of New Orleans. These were sons of free Blacks who had gained wealth. Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps, in the Preface to their *The Poetry of the Negro, 1746-1949*, wrote that "the members of this group had not been taught to link themselves personally with the condition of the slaves, and their poetry scarcely touched racial feeling." Yet, their poems were written at a time when the country was on the eve of Civil War, and when the emancipatory struggles of the Black slaves, as Karl Marx noted in his letters to Engels, were "endangering" the power of the slaveowners.

Both Yerby's works and *Les Cénelles* exemplify escapist, accommodationist and conformist tendencies of the Black bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals. Yet, the cultural nationalists' logic would have their works included alongside those representing the currents of defiance and militant struggle against racism which motivated the Black working masses throughout slavery and today.

This latter tendency and its cultural manifestations would be ignored or disparaged by the cultural nationalists, just as it has been ignored or cheapened by commercialism of the super-rich patrons of the arts and their pseudo-historians and critics. Yet, as pointed out by John Howard Lawson in his *The Hidden Heritage* (Citadel Press, New York, 1950, pp. 205-219), "The Negro, in chains and in rebellion, laboring in the fields and fighting guerrilla battles in the mountains, is the heroic and creative figure, the defender of moral values, in the complex of Caribbean social relationships. . . . The essential characteristic of the first decades of slavery is the intensity of the struggle initiated by the Negroes. . . . The violence of the initial clash, and the very considerable success achieved by the Negroes, gave the system its historical direction. . . . The marked ability which the Negroes exhibited as artisans whenever there was an opportunity to

test their skill may be attributed to the emphasis on craft industry in the societies of West Africa. . . ." And Margaret Just Butcher, in her *The Negro in American Culture* (Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., N.Y., 1956, pp. 35-46) speaks of the Negro folklore, folk music, spirituals and blues, dance, humor and satire that have contributed to patterning all art forms in the United States—derived in the main from the experience of Blacks in the struggle for freedom.

The neo-Pan-Africanists, by speaking of Black culture in general in the context of a society dominated by the exploiting class and its values, contribute to the suppression and disparagement of the cultural creations of Black working folk in their struggles for freedom. By the same token, by counterposing Black culture to white culture they help to deprive Blacks of an important asset in their struggle for equality—the knowledge that throughout the Black experience in the United States there have been white allies. Owing to the dominant role which whites, poisoned by racism, have held in U.S. cultural life, the history of whites involved in the struggle against racism, just as the history of working class militance, has been distorted or suppressed. By rejecting white culture in general, the neo-Pan-Africanist cultural nationalists further this distortion and suppression.

Thus, they help to obscure the contribution to Black liberation of the whites who were executed, imprisoned or driven out of the slave states because of their complicity or suspected complicity in slave rebellions; of the whites who manned stations of the Underground Railroad and went into the slave states to distribute Abolitionist literature and to help the slaves escape or revolt; of the whites in the Abolition Movement, such as John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, James Otis, the Pennsylvania Quakers, Henry Ward Beecher, Elijah Lovejoy, Joshua R. Giddings, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton; of the white workers and their organizations, such as the New England Workingmen's Association which in January, 1846 at Lynn, Massachusetts,

voted support for slave rebellions and demanded government action against slavery; of the southern "poor whites" who, as Karl Marx wrote to Engels, were everywhere opposed to the slaveowners' secessionist movement and had to be intimidated, harassed and otherwise forced to support it; of the contributions to the freedom fight of whites such as William Cullen Bryant and Walt Whitman, of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner.

By contributing to the distortion and suppression of the contributions of such whites in the struggle against racism, the neo-Pan-Africanists leave the sphere of culture to the John C. Calhouns, Henry Gradys, Thomas Dixons and Margaret Mitchells, and to other equally notorious exponents of white supremacy and class oppression of both Black and white workers. Moreover, they lay the basis for rejecting the cultural manifestations of the struggles of white workers, and not only the cultural manifestations, but the opportunities for alliance with white workers in joint struggles against the common exploiter.

There are other consequences of cultural nationalism equally detrimental to the Black struggle for equality. Throughout the 110 years since the Emancipation Proclamation, Afro-Americans have struggled against segregation, recognizing it as a means of setting them apart from the rest of the population, isolating them from the mainstream of developments, and subjecting them to special forms of super-exploitation and oppression. But the cultural nationalists actually advocate segregation, self-segregation they call it, as a means toward Black solidarity. This is nonsense. The effect of segregation is to strengthen racist exploitation and oppression of Blacks by both the white and Black bourgeoisie. It strengthens the Black bourgeoisie at the expense of the Black workers, who are separated from their white working-class allies by the institutions and practices of apartheid generated and forced upon them by the white racist bourgeoisie. The Black bourgeoisie in this most important sense suffers no such limitations, for capital, as we know, is inter-

national. A commentary on this advocacy of self-segregation was reported in the *New York Amsterdam News* of Oct. 23, 1971 by Solomon Goodrich, Chief of Staff of the Congress of Racial Equality headed by Roy Innis. Goodrich reported that when he arrived in Dar es Salaam during a tour of Africa, he was greeted by Tanzania's Chief of Protocol with the words: "Are you the group trying to introduce apartheid into the United States?"

The cultural nationalists, to support their position, are obliged to interpret the developing course of the Afro-American people as one towards nationhood, although objective factors show otherwise. Consequently, they strive to establish separate institutions and organizations, to emphasize separateness from whites purportedly to establish the fact that Blacks in the United States are a nation. Actually, such institutions and organizations, by excluding whites, merely accelerate the processes of isolation. They go against, rather than with the dominant historical tendencies and objective forces. Certainly they contribute nothing to developing a coalition of forces, Black and white to fight the racism of state monopoly capitalism.

**PADMORE,  
THE "FATHER"  
OF NEO-PAN-AFRICANISM**

For Du Bois, Pan-Africanism was at all times an anti-racist, anti-imperialist concept. But the Pan-Africanism of Innis, Baraka, Foreman, Boggs, Carmichael and others, while invoking the name of Du Bois, takes its inspiration from George Padmore, C. L. R. James and Marcus Garvey.

For a brief interval—during the period of his work with the Communist International—Padmore's activity harmonized with Du Bois' anti-imperialist, internationalist conception of Pan-Africanism. It was only in this three or four year interval, ending in 1934, that Padmore appeared to genuinely share Du Bois' views. After that, while he found it expedient to pay lip service to this great genius of the 20th Century liberation struggles, Padmore—whose closest friend, C. L. R. James, always openly opposed Du Bois—was in fact going in a direction opposite from Du Bois.

Unlike Padmore, Du Bois never departed from the conviction that anti-imperialist struggle demanded unity with the

Soviet Union and all oppressed and exploited classes and peoples of every race on earth. Socialism in the multinational, multi-colored Soviet Union coincided with his own deepest convictions and strivings toward Black liberation, both in the U.S. and in Africa. It was characteristic of Du Bois that, returning from his first visit to the USSR in November 1926, he proudly affirmed: "I have been in Russia something less than two months . . . I stand in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partially deceived and half-informed. But if what I have seen with my eyes and heard with my ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik." As Padmore was moving away from an anti-imperialist conception of Pan-Africanism, Du Bois was moving to its support ever more consistently.

From 1934 until his death, Padmore's views derived not from Du Bois, but from Garvey and James. In this connection, it is important to recall that while Du Bois hailed the October Revolution from the beginning, James denied both the possibility and the necessity of solidarity between the oppressed of Africa and the land of socialism. James' concept of Pan-Africanism never in any way coincided with Du Bois'. And Padmore's divergence from Du Bois developed as he came closer to James' anti-Soviet, bourgeois-nationalist ideology.

Especially because of their anti-Communist, anti-Soviet opposition to Du Bois' Pan-Africanism, the policies of Padmore and James objectively led them into accommodation to the imperialist oppressors of the African peoples who have always given top strategical priority to the aim of isolating the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America from their anti-imperialist allies on a world scale. Above all, the target of U.S. imperialism is to isolate the oppressed peoples and workers of all countries from the Soviet Union and the growing influence of its example. For these reasons, the Padmore-James revision of Du Bois' Pan-Africanism, now widely promoted in the U.S., has become a serious

menace to the unity of the struggle against the monopolists within the U.S. and to the post-independence struggles against neo-colonialism in Africa.

The observation has been made that corporate monopoly combines the techniques of Detroit with those of Madison Avenue in promoting its ideological offensive against the people's struggles. One can see how this operates as the new anti-Marxist ideological fashions come rolling off the ideological assembly lines like the latest model cars. And, like new cars, these anti-Marxist concepts have a high rate of obsolescence, especially since they must be road-tested on the rugged terrain of the class and national struggles of the oppressed.

To help make up for this rapid obsolescence, the monopolists sometimes revive "old" models, repainted and fitted with the latest ideological trimmings. The old model is then presented as a newly discovered classic. This is what is being done, for instance, with the reputation of George Padmore on the appearance of a new edition of his book, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, first published in 1956 in England.

On the basis of this book, which attempts to merge Pan-Africanism with anti-Communism, the corporate controlled mass media now acclaim Padmore as the great genius and theoretician of Pan-Africanism. These are the same corporate masters who brutally persecuted Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois because they consistently pointed out that anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, along with racism, were weapons of oppression.

In his introduction to his book, Padmore revealed that his ideology, though expressed in the lofty language of Pan-Africanism and "African socialism," treats the imperialist powers who carved up Africa as gently as Booker T. Washington treated the oppressors of his people in the United States. (It is interesting to note that in arranging for the publication of his book in Africa, where anti-Communism finds a less receptive political climate, Padmore changed the title simply to *Pan-Africanism*, and also discarded his own foreword in the original English edition.) Padmore wrote:

Africans are quite willing to accept advice and support which is offered in a spirit of true equality, and would prefer to remain on terms of friendship with the West. But they want to make it under their own steam. If, however, they are obstructed they may in their frustration turn to Communism as the only alternative means of achieving their aims. The future pattern of Africa, therefore, will, in this context, be in large measure determined by the attitudes of the Western nations. (*Pan-Africanism or Communism?*, Dobson Books Ltd., London, 1956, pp. 17-18.)

It would be difficult to accuse anyone of bias in coming to a harsh judgment of Padmore's ideology, an ideology which allows him to proclaim to the world his willingness to accept support from Western imperialism provided "it is offered in a spirit of true equality." This talk of "true equality" between imperialist oppressor and the oppressed is no less a fantasy than the idea of equality between slave and master on the plantation! Padmore continues:

Our criticism of British colonial policy is not what it professes to stand for—"self government within the Commonwealth"—but the failure to make good this promise unless actually forced to do so by the colonial peoples. It has always been a case of "too little and too late." The result is that the dependent peoples, who would otherwise be Britain's friends and allies, become her implacable enemies. What British colonial policy needs to do today is to make open recognition of awakening African self-awareness, and instill its own acts with boldness and imagination. Deeds and not vague promises are what is wanted. (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

The views Padmore expressed about the colonialists were based on a lack of scientific understanding of imperialism. For him, as for Karl Kautsky—an ex-Marxist who betrayed the anti-imperialist struggles before and during World War I—imperialism was not an inherent stage in the development of capitalism, but a "policy" that corporate capital could turn on or off at will. Padmore, too, on the basis of

anti-Marxist illusions, betrayed the peoples' struggles with appeals to the "good will" of the imperialists, exhorting them to change their "policies."

And to-day's neo-Pan-Africanists have simply translated Padmore's abject, illusory pleading—as an alternative to struggle—into "militant" rhetoric in the hope of making it palatable to radicalized youth.

### *Lenin Challenged Illusions*

In his great classic, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin challenged the illusions of Kautsky's adherents in words that apply most aptly to Padmore and to the neo-Pan-Africanists now active in the United States. He wrote:

Where, except in the imagination of sentimental reformists, are there any trusts capable of concerning themselves with the condition of the masses instead of the conquest of colonies? (*Collected Works*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. 22, p. 261.)

And further:

Kautsky's obscuring of the deepest contradictions of imperialism, which inevitably boils down to painting imperialism in bright colors, leaves its traces in this writer's criticism of the political features of imperialism. Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. Whatever the political system the result of these tendencies is everywhere reaction and an extreme intensification of antagonisms in this field. Particularly intensified becomes the yoke of national oppression and the striving for annexations, i.e., the violation of independence. (*Ibid.*, p. 297.)

When Padmore pleaded with British imperialism to "install its own acts with boldness and imagination," he simply



anticipated Roy Innis by 16 years. Innis calls for a "Marshall Plan" to help free Africa at a time when U.S. imperialism is trying to expand its penetration of Africa—and if need be, yes, with a "Marshall Plan." Not of course, for Africa's economic development, but to maintain NATO and South African and Portuguese military and economic domination and brutal aggression against the African liberation movements.

If any doubt still remains that the Pan-Africanism taking its inspiration from Padmore is alien to that of Du Bois, then consider Padmore's own appeal to the U.S. monopolists for "Marshall aid" to Africa:

In this connection of aid to Africa, if America, the 'foremost champion and defender of the free world' is really worried about Communism taking root in Africa and wants to prevent such a calamity from taking place, I can offer insurance against it. This insurance will not only forestall Communism, but endear the people of the great North American Republic forever to the Africans. Instead of underwriting the discredited regimes, especially in North, Central and South Africa with military aid, let American statesmen make a bold gesture to the Africans in the spirit of the anti-Colonialist tradition of 1776.

The gesture should take the form of a Marshall Aid program for Africa. (Op. cit., p. 375.)

Obviously, this exposes the real reasons for Padmore's break with the Communist International; there was no place then, as there is no place now, in the Communist and Workers Parties for those with illusions about imperialism, those who deny that the issue in Africa is between imperialism and the oppressed peoples.

While rejecting Marshall Plan type "aid," Communists make it clear that they do not take a nihilistic attitude to aid and trade between former colonial or dependent countries and the imperialist powers. But they oppose "aid" or trade which continues a relationship of unrestricted plunder of

the under-developed nations. Neo-colonial terms of trade, investment and "aid" bring super-profits to imperialism. And it should not be overlooked that the "aid" imperialism advances always comes out of its super-profits with the aim of perpetuating monopoly's domination over these countries.

The socialist countries do not, as the imperialists claim, seek exclusive economic relations with the emerging nations. On the contrary, they strive for a united front of all the world's anti-imperialist forces to support the newly independent countries against the economic or military aggression of neo-colonialism.

Within this context, the socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, have inaugurated—for the first time in history—equitable terms of trade and credit for the developing countries. With such material aid and equitable economic relations, extended by the socialist countries as an integral part of the solidarity of the world's anti-imperialist forces, the former colonies now have the perspective of dealing with the imperialists from positions of increasing strength.

In struggling to realize this perspective, these countries will have begun the process of moving away from the days of subjugation—subjugation which was not relieved but reinforced by "aid" from the oppressor.

In all parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is increasingly apparent that the existence of the socialist countries makes it increasingly difficult for imperialism to impose its dictates, whether militarily or economically, upon the peoples of the earth.

Time is running out on imperialism's long unchallenged control over the terms by which it appropriates resources and products of the nations of the world. *And one example of the new perspective opened up to the formerly oppressed peoples can be seen in Africa, the Mid-East and Latin America where the oil producing countries are at long last beginning to have a say in fixing the price of oil in the capitalist world market place. And this anti-imperialist "price-*

*fixing," in addition to bringing billions in income to these formerly impoverished countries, has an even more important asset—it helps strengthen their independence and development and leads to sharper struggles for social advance within the revolutionary process.*

Capitalism, which has for centuries plundered the wealth of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, must be compelled to do more than alter its terms of trade and credit. The monopolists must also be forced to use part of their super-profits for reparation to these countries—first and foremost to the Indo-Chinese peoples, to assist their recovery from the most barbaric aggression in all history, and to the African peoples who suffered the centuries-long genocide of the slave trade and of colonial oppression.

Trade, credits and aid must be based on recognition of the right of peaceful co-existence for each country of Asia, Africa and Latin-America regardless of the social system each may choose. *This Leninist concept of the right of co-existence for different social systems goes to the heart of the question of self-determination.* Those neo-Pan-Africanists who call for anti-Communist "Marshall aid" to Africa make a mockery of the principle of self-determination as viewed by Du Bois and Lenin.

Calling for "aid" to African countries, while simultaneously echoing the neo-colonialists' anti-Communism and advocating a divisive skin strategy, weakens the world revolutionary process. In practice it means denying the right of co-existence of African countries, opening the door to the renewed economic, political and military pressures of neo-colonialism.

This, in turn, actually results in the denial of the elementary right of self-determination, of independent political existence. It also means denial of the right to choose a non-capitalist instead of a capitalist path—thus leading to submission to neo-colonialist terms of trade as well as "aid." To

paraphrase Lenin in another situation, anti-Communist, neo-Pan-Africanist appeals for "aid" would, if answered, support Africa the way a rope supports a hanging man.

This is exactly what happened to Ghana when anti-Communist nationalists, echoing Padmore, plotted with U.S. and British imperialism against Nkrumah and isolated the country from the socialist nations and the world anti-imperialist forces. In denying Ghana's right to choose a different social system, did not this result in tightening the noose against Ghana and tighten neo-colonial domination over the Ghanaian economy and people?

In calling for U.S. "Marshall aid" to Africa, Padmore's aim was not one of struggle to oust imperialism. His perspective was for imperialism to remain on the African continent—and he helped it to stay there by implying that it had already gone, was no longer a threat. He said:

In the coming struggle for Africa, the issue, as I have already inferred, will be between Pan-Africanism and Communism. Imperialism is a discredited system, completely rejected by Africans. (Ibid., p. 21.)

Can any rational person believe, as Padmore suggests, that because imperialism has been rejected by Africans, it is already a dead dodo?

There is still another question that must be asked of today's neo-Pan-Africanists: Is there any contradiction between Padmore's anti-Communist ideology and the actions, for example, of Mobuto, accomplice of the Belgian bankers in the murder of Patrice Lumumba, or of General Thieu, partner of U.S. genocide in Vietnam, both of whom also, like Padmore, claim that the issue is between Communism and the people?

### *"Bending to the Will" of the Racists*

In one of his mildest criticisms of Booker T. Washington, Du Bois wrote of his "bending to the will" of the racists. (*Dusk of Dawn*, Shocken Books, New York, 1940, p. 196.) Earlier, in *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois discussed a particular example of this form of abject submission:

To gain the sympathy and cooperation of the various elements comprising the white South was Mr. Washington's first task, and this, at the time Tuskegee was founded, seemed, for a black man, well-nigh impossible. And yet ten years later it was done in the words spoken at Atlanta: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This "Atlanta Compromise" is by all odds the most notable thing in Mr. Washington's career. The South interpreted it in different ways: the radicals received it as a complete surrender of the demand for civil and political equality; the conservatives, as a generously conceived working basis for mutual understanding. So both approved it, and to-day its author is certainly the most distinguished Southerner since Jefferson Davis. (*The Souls of Black Folk*, Washington Square Press, New York, 1970, p. 35, originally published in 1903.)

And when today's neo-Pan-Africanists follow in Padmore's footsteps, are they not also "bending to the will" of the racists? Is this not also "complete surrender"?

The policies of neo-Pan-Africanism are ardently welcomed by today's conservatives. The anti-Communist version of Pan-Africanism can be accurately described, in Du Bois' words, "as a generously conceived working basis for mutual understanding" with neo-colonialism, U.S. racism and imperialism.

At the time when the gains of the Civil War and Reconstruction were being lost, Booker T. Washington assured the oppressors that instead of resisting the revival of racism, Black people would remain "as separate as five fingers" from a united struggle against their main enemy.

### *Padmore's Opposition to Anti-Fascist Struggle*

In 1934, the German and Italian fascist imperialists were joining with Japanese imperialism to prepare for war with British, French and U.S. imperialism for a new partition of Africa and for the destruction of the first socialist state. It was at this time, when the advances achieved in centuries of struggle were threatened, that Padmore launched his anti-Communist career in the name of Pan-Africanism—assuring the imperialist powers that Black people would remain as "separate as the five fingers" from the anti-fascist struggle, from the Soviet Union and all the world's anti-imperialist forces. Padmore did this at a time when those forces were struggling for collective resistance against the Axis assault on Ethiopia and the growing fascist threat in Europe. Padmore's opposition to the anti-fascist movements in Europe marked the beginning of his open betrayal of Du Bois' internationalist conception of Pan-Africanism.

Padmore turned Pan-Africanism away from anti-imperialism, and into a concept aimed at winning the "good will" of imperialism on the basis of "mutual" anti-Communist understanding. His betrayal was compounded because he did this at a time when it was still possible to defeat German and Italian fascism from within, to halt the fascist aggression in Ethiopia and prevent the Franco-Axis attack against the Spanish Republic, all of which would have immeasurably strengthened the anti-colonialist struggles in Africa and elsewhere by preventing the outbreak of World War II.

In the context of the post-independence struggles in Africa and the post-civil rights stage of struggle in the U.S., those who are inspired by Padmore's views are in effect helping revive the submissive ideology of Booker T. Washington. In contrast to Du Bois' concept, neo-Pan-Africanism calls for Black separation from, and anti-Communist antipathy to, the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces—non-Black or Black—on a world scale and in the U.S.

Can anyone doubt that this is a doctrine courting "mutual understanding" with the monopolist oppressors? Is it possible to deny that such a doctrine amounts to a resurrection of Booker T. Washington's "separate as the five fingers" credo, that it is a strategy of division and defeat for the world's oppressed and exploited—and first of all for the Black oppressed in the U.S. and the peoples of Africa?

Padmore started out by appealing to the good will of British imperialism. Later, with his call for "Marshall aid" to Africa, he began to include U.S. imperialism, which had emerged from World War II with mostly increased power, while British, French, Belgian and Portuguese imperialism had become secondary and even subordinate in Africa.

*The purpose of the U.S. Marshall Plan, as has been noted, was to preserve capitalism in Europe by forestalling the advance of socialism, and by building a world-wide anti-Soviet encirclement aimed at containing the Soviet Union's support of the rising liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Through Marshall Plan "aid," the U.S. supported the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in their African and Asian possessions, the Belgians in the Congo, and the Portuguese, the British and South African imperialists in other parts of Africa.*

Is it possible to believe that U.S. imperialism will in any foreseeable future help build the economy of African countries? The imperialist leopard *cannot* change its spots. U.S. imperialism even now is in a new phase of rivalry with former recipients of Marshall Plan "aid" and with Japanese imperialism for control of African resources. At the same time, these rivals without exception operate within a policy aimed at preventing political independence in Africa from being followed by economic independence.

### **"An Empty Slogan"**

Certain sharp criticisms of Pan-Africanism come from a surprising source—Daniel Guerin, an anti-Communist

French writer and close friend of Padmore's. After receiving one of the first copies of his book from Padmore, Guerin wrote his friend:

In my opinion you are too eulogistic towards the Commonwealth. And when you, very correctly, denounce the "bogus and fraudulent device to maintain French domination" why do you forget the device of the fetishist British Queen, used in order to keep together the several parts of the Commonwealth? (Quoted in James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path From Communism to Pan-Africanism*, Praeger, New York, 1967, p. 128.)

Guerin then went on to say:

You give the impression (because of too vague definitions) to contradict yourself when you write on p. 337 that communism is meeting with stubborn resistance from the adherents of pan-Africanism and when you somewhere else write that many of the young Negro intellectuals in Britain held "Marxist views" (p. 147) and that both Garveyism and pan-Africanism "resemble Marxism" (p. 329). Then you *do homage* to communism when you observe that many of the present day students come from artisan families and peasant communities and are, therefore, more responsive to communist propaganda than those connected with the chieftain caste, etc. (p. 329). This means that there is a class struggle and that the communists are on the good side of the fence, the side of the poor. But, if so, why do you *seem to be delighted* when you say that most of these students on returning home revert to bourgeois nationalist, reactionary at fifty (p. 330) . . . Finally, my dear George, I am a little worried about a pan-Africanism which would be an empty slogan without much more contents than anti-communism . . . (Ibid. pp. 128-129. Emphasis in the original.)

There is indeed a class struggle in Africa, and now, as they were then, Communists are on the "good side of the fence"—against colonialism in all its forms. And in writing of young African radicals who, he said, later became bourgeois

nationalists, Padmore was unintentionally autobiographical.

As a youth, Padmore seemed to accept Marxism and anti-imperialist Pan-Africanism. But when in his fifties he came to Ghana at the invitation of Nkrumah, he arrived not with the Pan-Africanism of Du Bois, but as a bourgeois nationalist. Between 1957 and his death in 1959, Padmore tried to influence Nkrumah away from policies reflecting Du Bois' thinking—that is, an orientation based consistently on a scientific socialist direction internally, and on unity with the world socialist, anti-imperialist forces headed by the Soviet Union internationally.

Padmore's activities brought him into increasing conflict with Nkrumah's Marxist and generally left supporters, and finally with Nkrumah himself. After Padmore visited Israel, this strain became worse. James Hooker, who shares Padmore's ideology, commented on Padmore's attitudes toward Israel as follows:

Though he never wrote about his view of the Israeli question, certain things suggest that Padmore favored the Jewish side of the dispute . . . Certainly Ghanaian-Israeli relations were best and Ghanaian-Egyptian relations were worst during Padmore's stint at Flagstaff House. . . . In any case, there is no doubt that Padmore was unpopular in Egypt . . . He did what he could, and very effectively, too, to hamper the Egyptians at the first meeting of the All-African Peoples' Organization, AAPO, (Accra, December, 1958) by reducing their proposed delegation's strength from a hundred to five (Ibid., p. 135.)

But Padmore's increasingly open betrayal of the true spirit of Pan-Africanism was not limited to cutting down Egyptian participation in this conference. He also succeeded in preventing Du Bois' attendance at it. John Hooker relates that according to Dr. Edwin Munger, who reported this conference for the American Universities' Field Staff:

. . . Padmore was worried about the probable attendance of Du Bois, whose communist message undoubtedly would be

received with deference, such was the old man's prestige among young Africans. *There is no reason to doubt the correctness of Professor Munger's report, but it does reveal a third stage in Padmore's relationship with Du Bois.* (Ibid., pp. 136-137. Emphasis added.)

Hooker also relates that Smith Hempstone, then of the Institute of Current World Affairs, interviewed Padmore in Accra in 1958, and he quotes Hempstone as follows:

He seemed sincere in his views, but rather out of touch with the new generation of African nationalists, with the exception of Nkrumah himself, of course, to whom he was very close. I have a feeling that Nkrumah's reliance on Padmore as an ideologue contributed to the Ghanaian leader's failure to gain real control of the Pan-Africanist movement. By this I mean that if Nkrumah himself had taken the trouble to ascertain the thinking of other African leaders on the subject of Pan-Africanism, rather than relying on Padmore's interpretation of what the shape of Pan-Africanism should be, Nkrumah might have more stature than he has today. (Ibid., p. 137.)

Though oversimplified and distorted in interpretation, there is some truth in these observations. However, Nkrumah's great leadership, and its potential for Africa's future, was not based on reliance on Padmore—though some of his errors were indeed related to Padmore's influence.

*But the outstanding qualities that brought Nkrumah to the pinnacle of African leadership transcended the influence of Padmore's ideology. Coinciding with his invitation to Du Bois to come to Ghana, Nkrumah began to move more decisively to overcome the effects of bourgeois nationalism and anti-Communism within his Convention People's Party. However, by this time it was too late to overcome what Padmore had done to undermine the Left and stimulate the mobilization of reactionary nationalism in concert with international capital to overthrow the Nkrumah government.*



### *The Cost of Padmore's Anti-Sovietism*

Padmore's overriding compulsion to link anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism with Pan-Africanism helped create the ideological atmosphere within which Nkrumah's enemies mobilized their forces. This strengthened the bourgeois forces in Nkrumah's CPP, enabling them to orient economic policies on capitalists and rich peasants as against public sectors of the economy. As a result, the country was increasingly at the mercy of the credit, "aid" and trade policies of neo-colonialism.

While Nkrumah sought to turn Ghana toward a more consistent non-capitalist path and a more consistent recognition that true Pan-Africanism had to rely first of all on the socialist countries as the bulwark of anti-imperialism on every continent, the traditional elite in and out of the Convention People's Party was using Padmore's anti-Communism to challenge Nkrumah's leadership.

Commenting on some of the factors that led to Nkrumah's overthrow, two academic writers state:

We maintain that Nkrumah lost his opportunity partly because, despite his ideological commitment to socialism, he did not have a vanguard party on which he could rely if he wished to nationalize the economy . . . He could have chosen a "conservative path" of development . . . or he could have opted for the "radical path" . . . As the first independent African state and one of the few with real immediate development potential, Ghana was in a position to bargain for socialist cooperation, especially from the Soviet Union, which might possibly have put Ghana in a position similar to that of Cuba. Cuba, with a population about the size of Ghana's, has received a price from the Soviet Union for its primary export, sugar, which provides a basis for economic development. In 1968 Cuba received \$365 million over the world price from the Soviet Union for sugar. (Barbara Callaway and Emily Card in *The State of the Nations*, Michael F. Lofchie, ed., University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971, p. 92.)

One cannot help recalling that in 1966, the year Nkrumah was overthrown, there was a disastrous drop in the price of cocoa—manipulated by the same imperialists who engineered the coup against Nkrumah and whose "good will" Padmore preferred to the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union.

*The story of the contrast between the role of cocoa in disrupting social and political advances in Ghana with the role of sugar in Cuba's development is a fundamental expression of the consequences of neo-Pan-Africanism as compared to the internationalist Pan-Africanism of Du Bois.*

On July 26, 1972, on Cuba's National Day, what Fidel Castro had to say about the Soviet Union is as valid for Africa as it is for Cuba, and for the anti-imperialist struggles all over the world:

. . . in the future humanity will fully appreciate what the Soviet people have done for it. Our country is one of the many relevant examples.

What perhaps irks the imperialists and their stooges the most is the fact that this small country of ours, situated on the very doorstep of the United States in the Caribbean which the Yankees once considered their private preserve, was able to cancel out the past, to carry out the revolution, to defend itself and hold its own. They will not forgive the Cuban revolution for this. They will not forgive the U.S.S.R. for the support it has given us not in order to take possession of Cuba's mines, to seize Cuban soil, or to exploit our people, not to implant vice, prostitution, gambling, poverty, not to grab, not to appropriate the fruits of our labor, not to conquer the country, not to exploit anyone. The Soviet Union supported us in conformity with revolutionary and internationalist principles.

And, continued Castro:

The Soviet state does not own a single mine, not a single factory outside the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. Everything it has, every-

thing it owns, every credit it extends, the aid it gives, all this derives from its own natural wealth, from the labor and sweat of its people.

The imperialists and capitalists at times grant loans. But on what terms? At exorbitant interest rates! . . . And even if a capitalist country does extend long term credits, in 10 years' time you have to pay back twice as much, more through non-equivalent exchange, buying at high prices and selling at low, whether it is a matter of coffee, cocoa, sugar, minerals, or anything else. And the money the capitalists lend is money they have squeezed out of other peoples.

The economic relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union have always been the most unselfish and most revolutionary possible between two countries. . . .

What would have happened had there been no socialist camp, had not the Soviet Union existed? The least that would have happened is that we would all have been wiped out. The least!

We say that in the world today where imperialism exists and remains powerful leaving behind a legacy of poor and undeveloped countries, it is impossible to carry out revolution, to win independence, without socialism and international solidarity. This is our credo.

The Cuban experience demonstrates that those who fight for liberation against imperialism do not have to bargain with the Soviet Union for its support and solidarity.

And, it may be added, Castro's credo expressed the internationalism that is the basis of Du Bois' Pan-Africanism—which, I believe, is one of the basic reasons fighters for Black liberation in the U.S. will reject the anti-Communist variants of Pan-Africanism. They will understand that anti-Communism linked to Pan-Africanism is an ideology as alien to the needs of Black liberation in the U.S. as it is to achieving African liberation. Every fighter for Black liberation will appreciate these closing remarks of Castro's:

I would like to ask this of the quasi-intellectuals, pseudo-revolutionaries, schemers and vilifiers: how many million lives would the Cuban revolution have cost had it not had the support of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union?

But for the influence of Padmore's anti-Communist perversions of Pan-Africanism, Ghana would now probably have been advancing towards socialism—an inspiration to all Africa as Cuba is to all Latin America.

Du Bois' anti-imperialist Pan-Africanism embodies the Leninist concept of anti-imperialism—which applies to each country, each oppressed people and exploited class, in accordance with that country's specific historical conditions. It is a concept of internationalism which rejects the idea that a continent can become free through an anti-Communist color strategy that would separate liberation struggles from the socialist and anti-imperialist forces on a world scale. It rejects out of hand the idea that the people of Africa, Latin America or any other continent can end oppression and exploitation by going-it-alone on a color or nationality basis. That is the meaning of Castro's message, and that is why it harmonizes with the legacy left us by Du Bois.

### *Class Struggle and the Du Bois Legacy*

To carry out this legacy in the United States calls for challenging the "quasi-intellectuals and pseudo-revolutionaries" who would have us abandon the struggle by denying the class basis of racism. Fighting racism, expecting liberation, is inconceivable without a strategy directed against the class source of racism. The same principle, taking into account the differences in their conditions and peoples, applies to each country on the African continent.

If one recognizes that most of the countries of Africa are dominated by imperialism, then one must also recognize that the content of the anti-imperialist struggle must reflect

the specific class relations in each African country. If one says that no classes exist in Africa, as the rationale for claiming that Marxism does not apply to Africa, then one is saying that imperialism does not exist in Africa.

It is quite true that the development of both the bourgeoisie and the working class in Africa has been restricted by external domination. The struggle for the interests of the working class—which correspond with national independence and self-determination—and the tendency of the national bourgeoisie to compromise with neo-colonialism are at the center of the politics, the class struggle, in every African country. If one recognizes that imperialism must operate on the basis of the general laws of capitalism, then one cannot deny the fundamental fact of the existence of classes and class struggle in Africa, even though what is involved in most instances is a more or less emergent national bourgeoisie and proletariat.

When Nkrumah came to recognize the class struggle as basic to the struggle on the African continent, he began to express his unequivocal rejection of Padmore's ideology—the myth of anti-Communist "African socialism." In one of his latter works, Nkrumah stated:

The African Revolution is an integral part of the world socialist revolution, and just as the class struggle is basic to world revolutionary process, so also is it fundamental to the struggle of the workers and peasants of Africa. (*Class Struggle in Africa*, International Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 10.)

And again emphasizing the ideological distance he had put between himself and Padmore, Nkrumah wrote:

Myths such as African socialism and pragmatic socialism, implying the existence of a brand or brands of socialism applicable to Africa alone, have been propagated . . . One of these distortions has been the suggestion that class structures which exist in other parts of the world do not exist in Africa.

Nothing is further from the truth. A fierce class struggle has been raging in Africa. The evidence is all around us. In essence it is, as in the rest of the world, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed. (Ibid., p. 10.)

*The future course of each African country will be shaped by the outcome of the class struggle. In this struggle, the national bourgeoisie tends to play an anti-imperialist role inconsistently, vacillatingly, and after independence tries to restrict the revolution by controlling economic developments in the image of its own selfish class interests, aimed at orienting the economy along capitalist lines. In the context of neo-colonialism, this would threaten independence and risk subjection to international capital and the further impoverishment and exploitation of the masses.*

Some argue that the Marxist concept of class struggle is inapplicable to Africa since both the bourgeoisie and the working class are underdeveloped as compared with advanced industrial countries. However, the nascent bourgeoisie in these countries, striving toward national independence, is also subject to the general laws of capitalism, and therefore tends to rely on international capital against its own people.

On the other hand, the interests of the nascent working class can only be advanced within a consistently anti-imperialist strategy—one that seeks, for example, to enlist allies on the African continent, while at the same time rejecting a narrow strategy that would limit allies to those with a similar skin color.

The necessity of such a strategy becomes clear to those fighting for the interests of the working class in Africa, who in so many instances have seen their own national bourgeoisie—whose skin color is no different from their own—betraying newly-won independence to imperialists of another color. This is why it becomes more apparent to them that they must reject an anti-Communist skin strategy which conflicts with their anti-imperialist interests.

And that is why the Pan-Africanism of Du Bois, unlike Padmore's, is essential to the African struggle for economic

as well as political independence—why those who base themselves on the emerging working class in Africa increasingly see the need for applying those Pan-African principles that harmonize with and extend solidarity to the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces.

### *Tragedy and Irony*

There is both tragedy and irony in the fact that Padmore's anti-Communist, anti-Marxist policies were continued after his death by one of Nkrumah's bitterest enemies, Dr. Kofi A. Busia, when the coup that overthrew Nkrumah made Busia Ghana's new Prime Minister. (Busia was later removed from power by still another coup.)

In the struggle against Nkrumah, Busia—like Padmore—stressed "African socialism" instead of scientific socialism. The vague generalities of "African socialism" served as the rationale for expanding the struggle against Marxist and other Left-oriented Ghanaians who favored cooperation with the world socialist and anti-imperialist forces. With the support of the imperialist powers, Busia mobilized the class forces that sought to bring Ghana within the orbit of neo-colonialism.

According to Busia, "African socialism" aims:

at the equitable distribution of wealth, and at social justice and freedom . . . The literature on African socialism contains criticism of Communism because its methods destroy equality and freedom in the name of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. (*Africa In Search Of Democracy*, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1967, pp. 85-86.)

For us in the United States, it is important to note that Baraka's "Ujamaa"—"economic cooperation" and "self sufficiency"—is a close replica of Busia's "African socialism." Although Busia and Baraka manipulate the symbols of

African tradition when they speak of "equitable distribution" or "communalism," the content of their language is that of capitalism.

Even the U.S. monopolists claim they are for "equitable distribution." But when auto or steel workers strike for higher wages, the bosses do everything in their power to defeat them. "Equitable distribution" is impossible as long as the capitalist class controls the means of production, thereby exercising the dictatorship of capital over the working class and the people in general.

In his opposition to Communism and "the dictatorship" of the working class, Busia reveals that he preferred that Ghana take a capitalist instead of a non-capitalist path, relying on the dictates of international capital instead of the support of the socialist countries where the working class controls the means of production.

For Busia, "Ujamaa" is "African socialism" based on "familyhood." (Ibid., p. 78.) This, too, is akin to Baraka's ideology—an ideology of class collaboration which encourages Black workers and masses to accept the political direction and economic domination of their "own" national bourgeoisie which objectively means accommodation to the monopoly ruling class. For Baraka, class divisions among Blacks do not exist; instead there is one big "family." This not only leads to collaboration with the Black exploiters of Black people; more important, it is an ideology leading to collaboration with the racist monopoly oppressors.

In the references he makes in his book to Kenya, Busia most clearly confirms that he speaks in the language of "African socialism" in order to camouflage capitalism. "Equally opposed to capitalism is African socialism as espoused by the Kenya Government," states Busia, which he approvingly follows with a quote from a Kenyan state Paper: "(Kenya's) socialism differs from capitalism because it prevents the exercise of disproportionate political influence by economic power groups." (Ibid., p. 78.)

Do not these remarks simply reveal that the Kenyan state supports the development of capitalism—that its emerging capitalist class is using state power to prevent the exercise of political influence by the working masses?

One can identify the class character of Busia's politics from his background as well as from the orientation of his "African socialism." He came from the Ashanti professional elite which administered Ghana for the British and he continued to stay within the state apparatus under Nkrumah. The Ashanti professionals were linked with the Ashanti traditional elite who controlled most of Ghana's cocoa production, and Busia became the leader of the political opposition which first established its base among these cocoa growers. This was the base from which the political opposition put Padmore's anti-Communist neo-Pan-Africanism into action against Nkrumah.

In his book *Africa and the Politics of Unity*, Emanuel Wallerstein, a U.S. bourgeois writer, admits that as:

... more and more African nations became independent, those states considered to be neo-colonial by the revolutionary core used liberally the concept of African socialism both to strengthen themselves internally against radical opposition movements and to abjure international policies which would involve systematic rejection of the West and its replacement by new links with the Communist world. As this occurred, the revolutionary core became more and more chary of the concept of African socialism. In time the concept was repudiated, and then denounced. (Random House, New York, 1970, p. 231.)

Wallerstein goes on to quote Mobido Keita, who gave the following warning in 1962 when he was President of Mali:

Let us not be deceived by word-magic. Most of the other African states speak of African socialism . . . if we don't watch out, the word socialism will be emptied of its content, and the most capitalist systems and the most reactionary bourgeois can hide themselves behind the slogan of socialism. (Ibid., p. 232.)

Then Wallerstein states:

It was in Ghana, once again, that the ideological position was elaborated in great detail. This can be found in Nkrumah's book *Consciencism* and throughout the various issues of *The Spark* and *L'Entinelle*. On the one hand, African socialism was denounced categorically. The historic mission of "African socialism" is to combat and, if possible, defeat scientific socialism firstly by introducing elements alien to socialist thought, and secondly by denying some of the foundations of socialist ideology. (Ibid., p. 233.)

Such criticism, appearing in Nkrumah's writings in 1964, exposed the essence of Padmore's ideology. Unfortunately, Nkrumah's evolution away from Padmore's concepts did not develop its full thrust quickly enough to offset counter-revolution in Ghana.

And now that Padmore's neo-Pan-Africanism has been resurrected in the United States, it would be appropriate to keep in mind Mobido Keito's warning of 1962: "Let us not be deceived by word-magic." Today's word-magicians include Baraka, who now ironically speaks in the name of Nkrumah; and Stokely Carmichael, self-styled protege of Nkrumah, who has been sounding more like Nkrumah's enemy, Busia. One and all, the advocates of neo-Pan-Africanism—from the "militants" to the proponents of "Black capitalism" have turned the anti-imperialist, liberating Pan-Africanism of Du Bois into its opposite.



## CONTRADICTIONS IN BARAKA'S "WORD MAGIC"

Each time a Black Congress has convened, Imamu Baraka has played a prominent role—maneuvering with great skill to extend his influence within the diverse, often conflicting, currents that reflect the continuing search of the Black people in the U.S. for a liberation program.

However, while Baraka's tactics have been altered, and are now more flexible, his strategy remains essentially the same: no matter how cleverly it is camouflaged, Baraka's ideology would bring the Black liberation movement under the influence of a divisive, culturally nationalist, neo-Pan-Africanist skin strategy.

In this connection, for instance, Baraka calls for Blacks in the U.S. to:

. . . build and develop *alternative* social and economic institutions, locally and nationally and internationally, viewing each of these levels of activity as part of an organic process, each complementing the other. (*Ideological Statement*, delivered by Imamu Amiri Baraka at the Congress of African People, Atlanta, 1970. Emphasis added.)

This, continues Baraka, is a program to:

... provide all the basic necessities for sustenance and growth and survival of our people, i.e., food, shelter, clothing, etc., based on the principle of Ujamaa. (Ibid.)

Before the Congress in Atlanta, Baraka explained what he meant by a self sufficient "alternative" system. "Ujamaa — collective or cooperative economics," stated Baraka in his *A Black Value System*, (p. 6), is the "traditional way of distributing wealth for the Black man."

This is manipulative "word-magic," as remote from the struggle against the realities of racism, massive unemployment, increasing poverty and discrimination in the U.S. as it is from the realities confronting the peoples of Africa. Baraka offers not a program of struggle, but one of submission to corporate monopoly in the U.S. and neo-colonialism in Africa.

Baraka uses "tradition," "economics" and "distribution" in an abstract, unscientific fashion. To take the view that "economics," "distribution" or "self-sufficiency" can be based on the "traditional" in the period of imperialism—the final stage of capitalism—and when another system, socialism, in alliance with working-class and national liberation forces, is the decisive factor in world relations, is to deny historical and dialectical materialism. And to deny this makes a scientific approach to strategy impossible.

Because of his unscientific approach, Baraka's concept of "Ujamaa" based on tradition relates not to the present but to previous epochs of society. He does not talk about "Ujamaa" in the sense of relating "collective or cooperative economics" to the revolution in science and technology in an era of class and national revolutions leading toward socialism—the only way in which "Ujamaa" can be transformed from an abstraction into reality.

Denying the concrete perspectives for liberation—"Ujamaa" based on the liberating strategy of Marxism-Leninism—Baraka offers the fantasy of going back to the beginning, to "traditional," communal forms of "Ujamaa"—in short, to primitive society.

While it is true that in some sections of the world (i.e., parts of Africa), certain vestiges of communal life, of a primitive economy, can still be found, these survivals have only a superficial resemblance to the past. In reality, they bear the marks of the different exploitative stages—slavery, feudalism, capitalism—that society has passed through since the time of primitive communal existence.

And if distorted vestiges of Baraka's "traditional" communal economics can still be found here or there in Africa, they have survived only because the exploiting oppressor classes—both in the pre-capitalist and capitalist stages—found it profitable to retain the past as a *brake* on change which would bring a new class to power. Even when the interests of a succeeding exploitative class require change, the new class is fearful lest that change be too thorough. Thus, the new exploiters seek to retain elements of the past as a barrier against a future they fear.

For example, at a certain point in its development, the rising U.S. capitalist class required the destruction of the slave system to make way for the supremacy of capital. But in order to put a *brake* on the sharpening class struggle, the capitalists betrayed Reconstruction, re-enslaving the Blacks with a U.S. variant of serfdom.

This laid the basis for perpetuating differentials in the status of Blacks as compared to whites, thus representing a double advantage for capital: it provided a source for vast super-profits, and also intensified racist ideology—postponing the day when a united Black and non-Black working class would emerge to challenge monopoly.

U.S. capitalism still seeks to use the past against the future, against the working class whose mission is not merely to change the *form* of oppression and exploitation—as in the

past, with the rise to power of new exploiting classes—but to *put an end* to oppression and exploitation. This cannot be done on the basis of “traditional” economics. It can be done only through united class and national liberation struggles moving toward the establishment of socialism.

But when Baraka talks about “the traditional way of distributing wealth for the Black man,” he is in effect asking Black people to accept a still greater “distribution” of poverty and oppression for the masses in the ghettos, while he offers a minority of U.S. Blacks the prospect of careers within a U.S. neo-colonialist “distribution” of still greater poverty and oppression in Africa.

While the essence of Baraka’s ideology has remained the same since the 1970 Congress in Atlanta, he has recently become bolder in his demagoguery. Taking his cue from the reactionary bourgeois elite in certain African countries who conceal their support of capitalism and collaboration with neo-colonialism in the name of “African socialism,” Baraka has now introduced the word “socialism” into his ideological vocabulary: at the 1972 Congress in San Diego, he spoke of “Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Ujamaa—African socialism.”

Nkrumah, as we have noted, denounced the myth of “African socialism”—stating that there can be no socialism, anywhere, except scientific socialism, and that the term “African socialism” is used to rob socialism of its scientific content by implying a unique brand of socialism applicable only to Africa.

### **“African Socialism”—Code Words**

It served this purpose for Busia, who used “African socialism” as code words, a signal to the neo-colonialists and their Ghanaian accomplices that he was “untainted” by Communism, that he opposed real socialism for Ghana as well as Ghana’s unity with the Soviet Union and the entire world

anti-imperialist struggle. In fact, Busia, with the support of U.S. and British imperialism, organized Nkrumah’s overthrow in the name of “African socialism.”

And, in the light of his separatist neo-Pan-Africanism, it is clear that Baraka also uses “African socialism” as code words. He offers nothing concrete for dealing with the real situations either here or in Africa. He does not call for new, alternative forms of struggle against the racist ruling class in this country, nor for new forms of united anti-imperialist struggle against neo-colonialism in Africa.

Instead of a liberating strategy, Baraka calls for a separate, “self-sufficient” economy for Blacks in this country. To propose this impossible “alternative” at this point in history—when state monopoly capital dominates every part of the country amounts to indifference to the overwhelming majority of Blacks, whose crucial needs demand immediate united mass struggle.

Neither the fantasy of “Black capitalism” nor that of “self-sufficient,” “Ujamaa . . . economics”—whether in the ghettos across the nation or in some state or larger area of the South—can establish an alternative economy in a country where 2% of the population directly controls 88% of the economy, with the other 12% of the economy totally dependent on the monopoly controlled 88%.

There *is* an alternative to hunger, racism and oppression in this country, but not in self-defeating neo-Pan-Africanist schemes. The only possible alternative for Blacks is *within* a program of Black unity that will not be dissipated by separatist detours, but will play an independent role in forging a great movement of Black and non-Black of all colors against the corporate 2% dominating 98% of the population.

Black liberation can never be realized by fantasies of an alternative economy, but only through an anti-monopoly movement leading toward an *alternative* to monopoly control of the *total existing economy*. This is the only strategy that can result in meeting the needs of the people—jobs, education, health, housing—and open the way to putting an end to racism.

Baraka's "alternative" would mean the continued genocidal denial of life and hope imposed by monopoly as the "traditional" way of life for Black people. And Baraka's impossible detour into the past would continue to place the greatest burden on Black women, who were "traditionally," under previous forms of oppression as they are at present, the most oppressed of the oppressed. But Black women, from Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman to Angela Davis, have always rejected non-struggle which is at the core of Baraka's ideology.

And how does Baraka's concept of "Ujamaa," or "cooperative economics" relate to Africa? It is true that in Africa, unlike the United States, one can find several types of pre-capitalist economic survivals—vestiges of both communal land holdings and of feudalism, alongside varying levels of internal capitalist development. But these survivals have no independent existence. For centuries they have been locked into one or another form of colonial domination, undergoing changes only as these forms changed, internally and externally.

The absurdity of Baraka's concept of "Ujamaa" in relation to communal survivals in Africa can be understood most clearly if one refers to Lenin's great work, *Data On the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture*, written in 1914, a profound analysis of capitalism's development in the U.S. after the abolition of slavery and in Russia after the abolition of serfdom. In this book, Lenin exposes the illusions of the Russian Narodniks who thought that the peasant communal land holdings could provide the basis for Russia to advance directly to some form of "socialism," and of those in the United States, counterparts of the Narodniks, who closed their eyes to the re-enslavement of the Blacks and entertained ideas of "escaping" capitalism on "free" land in the west.

Lenin wrote that:

. . . economic survivals of *slavery* are not in any way distinguishable from those of feudalism, and in the former slave-owning south of the U.S. these survivals are *still very powerful*.

. . . Having freed the Negroes it (the U.S. ruling class) took good care, under free republican-democratic capitalism, to restore everything possible, and do everything possible and impossible for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes. (*Collected Works*, Volume 22, pp. 24-25. Emphasis in the original.)

Lenin continued:

America provides the most graphic confirmation of the truth emphasized by Marx in *Capital*, Volume III, that capitalism in agriculture does not depend on the *form* of land ownership or land tenure. Capital finds the most diverse types of medieval and patriarchal landed property—feudal, peasant allotments (i.e., the holdings of bonded peasants); clan, communal, state and other forms of land ownership. *Capital takes hold of these, employing a variety of ways and methods.* (*Ibid.*, p. 22. Emphasis in last sentence added.)

In the following year Lenin wrote *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, the great classic of Marxism applied to the monopoly stage of capitalism, in which he demonstrated that in the U.S. capital had indeed taken hold of the entire economy!

*Today for Africa, Baraka's idea of going backward to the "traditional way of distributing wealth" is as illusory as the view that "free" land in the West offered an alternative to the takeover of big capital.* Moreover, Baraka's idea of the "traditional way of distributing wealth" is a romantic one; it never existed. "Ujamaa" under communalism—even in its earliest period, before the appearance of slavery, feudalism and then capitalism and imperialism—was a way of distributing poverty, not wealth, for the masses. At the level of development of the productive forces under primitive communalism, poverty for the

masses was the only possibility—which holds equally true for its contemporary vestiges.

While African countries cannot move back to the primitive "cooperative economics" of communalism, they can avoid going through a stage of full-scale capitalist enslavement. *This is an opportunity that did not exist for colonially oppressed peoples anywhere in the world before the October Socialist Revolution.* And in the context of today's world relations, it is possible for African countries to prevent capitalism, supported by neo-colonialism, from taking over the survivals of the past, as it did everywhere before the emergence of the socialist system.

But without the defeat of neo-colonialism, it is the "distribution" of poverty that will increase in Africa. This "distribution" will not take place in the "traditional" African communal manner, but will be a capitalist "distribution" of oppression and poverty, accompanied by the destruction of even the vestiges of traditional primitive "security" within the tribe and community.

And just as Baraka's ideology is a diversion from the anti-monopoly struggle in the U.S., it simultaneously obscures the possibility countries now have of bypassing capitalism, of preventing capitalism and neo-colonialism from completely taking hold. This possibility can become a reality only when a non-capitalist path of development is chosen—based on the support of the socialist countries and all the world anti-imperialist forces.

*But Baraka's policies mesh directly with neo-colonialist strategy, which would go to any lengths to prevent the African nations from taking the non-capitalist path. Such a path can be taken only within the framework of self-determination for each country—and Baraka's position contradicts the right of self-determination for African countries.*

Thus, in his address to the 1970 Congress of African People in Atlanta, he stated: "Garvey's thought is best interpreted as a movement to re-create an African state . . . " Instead of calling for support for the right of self-determination for the different peoples of Africa, Baraka wants a "movement to re-create an African state"!

But there has never been a single African state. Many different peoples have made up the different African states in history. How then, can Baraka, a U.S. citizen, call for a single state for Africa? No responsible leader of any of the newly independent African countries would advance such an idea. Nor would any leader of the peoples waging armed struggle for liberation of their countries from colonial rule call for a single African state today. Both those who have won political independence and those fighting for it today demand the right of self-determination for the various peoples. The idea of a single, contemporary African state violates the struggle against neo-colonialism, which can be won only by establishing and consolidating *independent* states in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, etc.

Baraka should know that Africans resent Black Americans speaking of Africa as a single, undifferentiated entity. Africans are familiar with the racist colonial and neo-colonial pattern that ignores the rich diversity of nations and peoples of their continent. But when ideas that would deny the right of self-determination come from individuals who presume to speak in the name of Pan-Africanism, it is a cause of deep concern to those striving for self-determination, independence and sovereignty of their respective countries.

### ***What's Behind the Denial of Diversity?***

What is behind the neo-colonialist ideology—echoed by Baraka—which in essence denies the diversity of the African peoples, and therefore the right of self-determination for each of these peoples?

Imperialist ideology and strategy treat Africa's multinational population as one undifferentiated mass because the imperialists are not concerned with the fate of these peoples. Their concern is control of the vast diversity of wealth on the African continent.



In the past, the colonialists' interest in the African population lay in transporting slaves to the Americas. Today the neo-colonialists exploit Africans as semi-slaves to extract and transport the vast wealth of Africa for use in the main centers of imperialism, in the United States, Japan and Europe. They would like this process to proceed as in the past, unimpeded by struggles for self-determination and independence.

The revolution in science and technology has profoundly intensified the imperialists' need for Africa's mineral and agricultural wealth. These resources now occupy an infinitely larger, more indispensable place in imperialism's economic strategy than ever before. The qualitatively new significance of Africa in the economics and politics of neo-colonialism is based on two new factors, both arising from the revolution in science and technology.

(1) The world supply of traditional minerals, oil and other raw materials is increasingly becoming depleted, while the demand continues insatiable. (2) There is now an increasing demand for many rare minerals for which there was little or no use before the nuclear and electronic revolution, and the African continent is the greatest known source for them.

No wonder the imperialists now more than ever fear the African struggles for self-determination and independence—struggles which have the potential of taking control of all the wealth of the respective countries and using it for social progress instead of neo-colonial super-profits. But these struggles are hampered today by neo-Pan-Africanist ideology, which so closely parallels the neo-colonialists' open opposition to the right of self-determination for each African country.

Ironically, the neo-colonialists who chauvinistically treat the African peoples as an undifferentiated mass are most precise in identifying and cataloging each of the minerals and other raw materials of Africa, right down to showing the exact location of each on the map!

Even a partial list of the diversity of Africa's resources is enough to account for neo-colonialism's opposition to self-determination for the diverse peoples of Africa. Such a list appeared in the July/August, 1972 issue of *African Progress*, a conservative publication of African business men. The magazine reported:

... Africa is the world's principal producer of gold, manganese, radium, scandium, caesium, corundum and graphite. It also dominates the market in certain strategic minerals such as cobalt, chrome, lithium, beryllium, tantalum and germanium. Iron ore, coal, nickel, vanadium, copper, zinc, lead, bauxite, silver, platinum, columbite, cadmium, phosphate, tin, uranium, etc., in varying quantities. As a matter of fact, no map changes so much as one showing Africa's mineral resources; a deposit is exhausted and closed down at one place at the same time as a new deposit is discovered elsewhere.

And the U.S. Bureau of International Commerce, market indicator for Africa, reported in 1964 the following as Africa's share of world commodity production:

Cassava 45%; chromium 31%; cobalt 92%; cocoa beans 78%; coffee 32%; copper ore 22%; gem diamonds 92%; industrial diamonds 90%; gold 67%; manganese ore 28%; millet and sorghum 23%; palm kernels 75%; palm oil 75%; peanuts 6%; phosphate rock 28%; sisal 62%; tin concentrates 11%; uranium minerals 15%; vanadium 29%; wood 11%; zinc ore 7%.

The issue comes down to who will control this vast wealth—neo-colonialism or the countries of Africa fighting for liberation and self-determination.

*While Africa has always had a vast diversity of peoples, the struggles for liberation on the African continent have now irrevocably placed the right of self-determination and the emergence of still more nations and nation-states on the agenda of history—and it cannot be removed either by the racist ideology of neo-colonialism nor the divisive ideology of neo-Pan-Africanism.*

In 1920 Lenin wrote:

As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries—and these will continue to exist for a long time to come . . . the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at the present), but the application of the *fundamental* principles of communism . . . (which will) correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions. To seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task . . . (*Collected Works*, Volume 31, p. 92. Emphasis in the original.)

Today that "single international task," from which neo-Pan-African ideology would divert the people, is the defeat of neo-colonialist opposition to the right of self-determination, of independence for the many emerging African nations.

### *Still More Contradictions in "Word-Magic"*

There are still more contradictions in Imamu Baraka's "word-magic." Speaking of the United States, he says:

. . . as Nationalists and Pan-Africanists, we must move to self-determination, self sufficiency . . . *the South may be the great strategic ground of the African in America.* (Ideological Statement, Congress of African People, Atlanta, 1970. Emphasis added.)

Thus, Baraka, who opposes self-determination in Africa—where the objective basis and necessity for this strategy is on today's agenda—calls for "self-determination," for a separate economy in the U.S., where objective reality calls for a different strategy to realize Black liberation.

It is true that the South is a *decisive* area in which Black self-organization and action must serve as a base for winning majority representation at every level of local and state government where Blacks form a majority, and for equality of representation, right up to the national level, where Blacks are a minority. But a strategy for Black liberation must recognize that the shift of millions of Blacks out of the old plantation areas to form major segments of the population in Southern, Northern and Western cities represents something more significant than a shift from a rural population in the former area of Black majority to a predominantly urban one: the decisive core of Black strength has shifted from a Southern peasant base to a working-class base, especially in the mass production industries *nationally*.

As a region, the South remains the most decisive area for a liberation strategy. But Blacks in the South—along with Blacks in other great population centers from New York to Los Angeles—can move toward unified *national* power only by asserting their strength within a broad anti-monopoly movement uniting Black and non-Black against the common corporate enemy. To achieve this, the Black workers must become the main base of leadership in a Black liberation strategy that recognizes the decisive role of the South, but does not lose sight of the fact that the great strategic liberating battleground is *national* in scope and direction.

Baraka's approach would actually cut down the South's role as a decisive base within the national struggle for liberation. His approach not only limits the "great strategic battleground" to the South, but excludes the working class as the vital force for achieving Black independent action within a national anti-monopoly strategy.

Baraka substitutes a *regional* for a *class* basis for liberation. But in reality one cannot conceive of either effective regional or national action in the struggle against oppression on the basis of a strategy that excludes the working class.

It is in such basic industries as steel, rubber and auto that the *class unity* of Black and non-Black workers can become

the main strength and develop the main leadership for organizing the millions of unorganized Black and white Southern workers, and for a new *national* political combination strong enough to defeat reaction and the danger of fascism.

Baraka appears oblivious to the fact that Nixon's "southern" strategy is actually a *national* one aimed at increasing poverty and reducing democracy throughout the country to even more critical levels than in the South, past or present.

And what can one make of Baraka's talk of fighting neo-colonialism in Africa, when he rejects the role that the working class must play in steel, rubber, transportation, etc.? Without a struggle involving the great mass of workers against the corporate monopolists of these industries—who are at the center of reaction here and of neo-colonialism in Africa—it would be impossible to advance the fight for liberation in the U.S. or effectively support the African liberation struggle.

But Baraka sees neither the South nor the Black working class as part of the great *national* "strategic battle ground" in the fight against monopoly. In his view, the South is an area in itself—a concept that creates a massive diversion from present-day realities, because it bases itself on the past, when Blacks were a peasant majority in a still largely agrarian economy and territory. But we cannot limit our thinking to yesterday's "strategic ground" without jeopardizing the offensive that must be mounted today. We can move forward to liberation only by challenging the enemy dominating the *total* national economy.

Because the "great strategic ground" for smashing the last survivals of slavery, for ending racism, poverty and inequality is national in scope, each regional struggle can be meaningful only to the degree that it is linked with a national strategy. Struggle in the South, or in any other part of the country, must be viewed not within the confines placed on it by Baraka's limited outlook, as a separatist breakaway, but instead as a unified Black struggle, a mighty tide of *independent*

Black action within a wider national challenge to monopoly's control of the total U.S. economy.

It is ironic that Baraka projects the South as the "great strategic ground" at the very moment when Wall Street and Washington have expanded their traditional "Southern Strategy" into a *national* strategy of racist reaction and provocation—a pattern that can be seen from Eastland's Mississippi to Forest Hills, Canarsie, Detroit and Los Angeles.

## **"WHERE THERE IS A VACUUM"**

If I have dwelt at some length on the separatist concepts of Baraka, Carmichael, Foreman, etc., it is because liberation cannot come from an ideology that would have the effect of misdirecting the battalions striving for Black liberation, separating them from today's "great strategic ground." It is for this reason that I felt it an imperative necessity to expose the ideology of neo-Pan-Africanism. And I have challenged these talented but tragically mistaken proponents of self-defeating separatism in the hope that they will seriously reappraise their views.

I not only oppose monopoly's plunder of the material fruits of Black oppression. I also oppose its appropriation of the intellectual capacities of Black people. All who would fight for liberation must move away from concepts and strategies that serve to strengthen the enemy against the people. To do this calls for the kind of courage that will place the saving and advance of Black liberation ahead of "saving face."

### "Where There is a Vacuum"

In an interview given two days before the 1972 elections, but released—in line with Nixon's instructions—after the elections, Nixon revealed many of the aims behind his campaign deceptions.

Against a background of years of unbridled terrorism in Vietnam, increased to an unprecedented level during his first term as President, Nixon made the following statement regarding the U.S. international role: "Let me say on the world scene, I would change it just a little." (*New York Times*, November 10, 1972) Without his expanding armaments budget, Nixon went on—accompanied by reductions in funds for social, educational, housing, health and job needs—we would have "a weaker America, turned inward . . . without the U.S. on the world scene, smaller nations would be living in terror, because where there is a vacuum, that vacuum is filled."

Does not Vietnam expose what Nixon means by a "vacuum"? When the long Vietnamese struggle for self-determination succeeded in driving out Japanese and then French imperialism, U.S. imperialism interpreted this to mean that a "vacuum" had been created! But this "vacuum" turned out to be the heroic, embattled Vietnamese people successfully resisting the greatest and most brutal military power in history.

And now, even after the people of Vietnam and the United States have had to pay so dearly for Wall Street's vain attempt to fill the "vacuum" in Vietnam, Nixon has elevated his "vacuum" doctrine to the center of U.S. imperialism's strategy in relation to the liberation struggles in all of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On the domestic scene, Nixon spoke out sharply against "permissiveness." This is the man whose record of permissiveness to corruption in government and politics, to bankers, Pentagon generals and corporate war profiteering, and to racism and racists exceeds that of all past administrations.

Nixon, of course, was opposing "permissiveness" for those who insist that the people need jobs, and an end to war, racism and inequality.

The election results mean, according to Nixon, that it is not "government's job everytime there (is) a problem to make people more and more dependent upon it to give way to their whims."

By disposing of demands for an end to racism, decent jobs, education, housing and health as "whims," Nixon made it clear that his "vacuum" doctrine of aggression against liberation movements internationally is also basic domestic policy. *This doctrine contains the seeds of the threat of fascism and still more war.*

There can be no doubt that monopoly aims at replacing "benign neglect" with the iron boot. The threat of this ominous *national* strategy is so great as to overshadow the betrayal of Reconstruction, the rise of the Klan, of lynch law and jim crow. As Lenin said of this earlier betrayal, reaction in the U.S. today is prepared to "do everything possible and impossible for the most shameful and despicable oppressions."

While these new oppressions would first be unleashed against Black people, they would not end there. They threaten labor and the oppressed and exploited of all colors with something worse even than a return to the days when it was a crime to organize. What is involved now is the threat of the "despicable oppressions" of *fascism*.

Some 15 years ago, Henry Kissinger wrote that leadership requires a:

. . . willingness to define purposes perhaps only vaguely apprehended by the multitude. A society learns only from experience: it "knows" only when it is too late to act. (*Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, Harper, New York, 1957, p. 431.)

Nixon, like Kissinger, operates on the premise that "the multitude" learns only when it is "too late to act." And it



is true that monopoly's real aims during the 1972 elections were not "apprehended" by millions because of the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of deception.

After the elections, Nixon laid claim to a "new majority." But there is only one *really meaningful* majority that can be formed in the U.S. today—a great anti-monopoly majority. It is "too late" for monopoly to prevent the emergence of this new people's majority!

While clearly recognizing the grave new dangers in monopoly's strategy, we must also recognize that the *key* factor emerging from the elections is the broader opportunities for struggle against this sharper threat. These opportunities are the basis for the "great strategic ground" in the fight for Black liberation, in the battle against new escalations of racism, poverty, reaction and war.

### ***"Creative Commitment" to Regain the Offensive***

It is interesting to remember that bourgeois nationalists—from super-radicals like Eldridge Cleaver to conservatives like Roy Wilkins—opposed Martin Luther King's efforts to project a new strategy for the post-civil rights period. Opposition came from Wilkins and from others on the Right because of their anti-Communist, gradualist resistance to mass struggle. And opposition came also from such pseudo-radicals as Carmichael, Foreman and Huey Newton (who has since gone full circle to the Right) because they were looking for adventurist, instant solutions. Neo-Pan-Africanism appears now as a catch-all ideology, objectively bringing about a strange kind of unity between "militant" and conservative forces in the Black liberation movement. This unholy alliance has emerged as one of the main roadblocks to regaining the offensive based on a new level of Black self-organization and action within a broad anti-monopoly struggle.

Paradoxically, with all their talk of Africa, the neo-Pan-Africanists in the U.S. reject the central lesson to be learned from the African struggle, a lesson that should be applied to the Black liberation struggle in this country: Africans are not writing off the importance of their struggles to win political independence despite the fact that independence from neo-colonialism is far from completed in most cases. Nor do they dismiss the importance of independence struggles because of the day-to-day life of poverty and exploitation by international capital that are still with them and have in fact even increased in certain countries since political independence. The peoples of Africa understand post-independence as the *new stage* in the struggle against neo-colonialism.

In the U.S., those who underestimate and even downgrade the civil rights struggles do not understand the relationship between the civil rights period and the post-civil rights stage—that is, they do not grasp the relationship between democracy and liberation.

The neo-Pan-Africanist, separatist disparagers of the civil rights movement because it did not end poverty and oppression are unwitting ideological aides of the racist monopolists who are trying to turn back the clock, to drive the Black people still further to the back of the bus of oppression and poverty.

In the aftermath of the 1972 elections, U.S. imperialism seeks to develop new and ever-more threatening offensives against the oppressed and exploited, nationally and internationally. To regain the people's offensive against monopoly is *the* challenge of our time. This is the imperative that motivated Dr. King in his search for a post-civil rights strategy to restore the momentum of mass struggle based on a new anti-war, anti-poverty, anti-monopoly program based on a coalition of the working class, and the poor and oppressed of all races. As Martin Luther King wrote:

This is the challenge. If we will dare to meet it honestly, historians in future years will have to say there lived a great people

—a black people—who bore their burdens of oppression in the heat of many days and who, through tenacity and creative commitment, injected new meaning into the veins of American life. (*WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?*, Bantam Edition, New York, 1968, p. 158.)

## 5

### SOURCES OF NEO-PAN-AFRICANISM

Today those who represent almost all tendencies of neo-Pan-Africanism, from radical to conservative, claim to be carrying forward their ideological viewpoints on the basis of the heritage of W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah and Edward Blyden. In making this claim, they present a homogenized version of the views of these men—some of whom advocated opposing ideologies. In this way, the neo-Pan-Africanists attempt to batten on the authority of historic figures to gain credibility for their mixed bag of unscientific, bourgeois ideology masquerading as Pan-Africanism.

This is a "Pan-Africanism" which hardly resembles that of the father of this concept, Du Bois, nor of Nkrumah, who, in the years before his overthrow, moved toward Du Bois' views. Instead it reflects far more closely the concepts of Padmore, who broke openly with Nkrumah.

The ideology of these historic figures does not, as was discussed in a previous chapter, constitute a single line of development within the Black experience, as today's neo-Pan-Africanists would have us believe. Thus, it is unfortu-

nate that even such critics of neo-Pan-Africanism as Robert Allen, Adolph L. Reed and Earl Ofari—all of them young and talented—appear to accept in some degree the basic aspects of the very version of “Pan-Africanism” they apparently seek to challenge.

Robert Allen, for example, is one of those who express the view that 20th Century Pan-Africanism involves only a single line of undifferentiated development within the continuum of Black history:

In the last half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, blacks from the West Indies and North America traveled to Africa or met with Africans in Europe. Among these Pan-African travelers were such well-known figures as Edward Blyden, Henry Sylvester Williams, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and C. L. R. James, to name a few. Although these men differed in their political and economic views, all were staunch advocates of black self-determination. Taken together, their activities in the Pan-African movement contributed directly to the ideological birth of African nationalism, and the consequent rise of national liberation struggles in Africa. (*An Historical Synthesis: Black Liberation and World Revolution*, by Robert Allen, appearing in *The Black Scholar*, February, 1972, page 15.)

While Allen takes note of the differing “political and economic views” of these men, he nevertheless lapses into the neo-Pan-Africanist myth that obscures the fundamentally different trends these men represent in the history of the Black liberation movement in this country, as well as in the liberation movement on the African continent. Their roles within the 19th and 20th century struggles against racist oppression cannot be “taken together.” The differences in their ideologies and roles are too vast to be so easily dismissed.

For instance, Frederick Douglass made a monumental contribution to the strategy that smashed the slave power. In the same period, however, Edward Blyden’s role can be

described only as objectively playing into the hands of the slavocracy. Nor did Blyden contribute to the “consequent rise of national liberation struggles in Africa.” On the contrary, he assisted in ideologically preparing the way for the establishment of U.S. capitalism’s beachheads on the African continent. Thus, Blyden was the ideological predecessor not of Du Bois, but of Marcus Garvey and George Padmore.

Blyden, Garvey, Padmore and C. L. R. James can indeed be “taken together.” They were the forerunners of contemporary neo-Pan-Africanism. And it is to neo-Pan-Africanism that the U.S. imperialists have assigned a special role in diverting the Black liberation movement in the U.S. and—by enlarging upon Blyden’s initial “contribution”—to assist in their strategy of massively expanding neo-colonial beachheads on the African continent.

### *“Racial Unity Alone” is Not the Answer*

Certainly Robert Allen is correct when he writes, in the same article, that “the new stage of imperialism has necessitated a class and ideological struggle within Africa. Racial unity alone is no answer to neo-colonialism.” *Nor is racial unity alone the answer to Black oppression in the United States!*

Thus, in overlooking the fundamental differences between Du Bois and Padmore, Allen contradicts himself. Du Bois stood for racial unity. He sought that unity through an ideology and program which came increasingly into conflict with the concepts of Padmore, who advocated a racial “unity” around separatist, anti-Communist policies—representing an abandonment of the masses of Africans and of Black people in the U.S. to the class aims of the Black elite on both continents, consequently encouraging accommodation to neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Unlike Padmore, Du Bois never counterposed racial unity in Africa and the United States to wider anti-imperialist struggles encompassing the working classes and oppressed

peoples of the world. Du Bois rejected the racial separatism and anti-Communism at the core of Padmore's non-struggle policies of accommodation to imperialism.

When, at the turn of the century Du Bois stated that "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line," he also boldly asserted that liberation could come only through unity—in place of capitalism's division of the peoples at the line of difference in color and nationality.

The 1905 Russian Revolution took place at the time when Du Bois was organizing the Niagara movement. He immediately recognized this struggle as one involving the unity of many nations and races within the prison of imperialism—with its working-class solidarity across the "color line"—as the harbinger of the solution to the problem of the 20th Century. Though the 1905 Revolution was defeated, Du Bois hailed it as the prelude to the October Socialist Revolution:

Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The Slav is rising in his might, the Yellow minions are testing liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the Laborer is opening the gates of Opportunity and Peace. (*Wm. Du Bois, Scholar and Humanitarian Freedom Fighter*, a collection of articles prepared by members of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Science, other Research Institutes and African and Soviet leaders. Novosti Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, page 61.)

In an earlier chapter, the final break between Du Bois and Padmore was discussed as occurring when Padmore maneuvered Du Bois' exclusion from the All-African Conference in Accra, Ghana, in 1958. It is significant that on the eve of this Conference, Du Bois was in Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, one of the five Central Asian Republics formed of the many peoples freed by the October Revolution from Czarist oppression.

Denied an invitation to the Accra Conference, Du Bois managed to have a message presented to the gathering. While not explicitly mentioning Padmore, Du Bois' statement—which called for Africa's solidarity with the socialist countries, for commitment to world-wide socialist, anti-imperialist unity—was unequivocal in its rejection of Padmore's anti-Communist, separatist policies.

At that time Padmore's policies were having their intended effect—they were influencing Ghana's internal and external positions in favor of neo-colonialism and its accomplices within the country. As Padmore came into increasingly open collision with Du Bois, it was inevitable that Nkrumah would move closer and closer to Du Bois' internationalist, anti-imperialist Pan-Africanism. Climaxing his open break with Padmore's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet perversion of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah invited Du Bois to join him in Ghana. Before coming to Ghana, Du Bois announced his membership in the CPUSA.

### *Capitalists "Can Never Free Africa"*

In his message to the Accra Conference, Du Bois stated that the socialist countries:

. . . which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West . . . Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which is the price which the West has demanded, and still demands. (*The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois*, International Publishers, New York, 1968, page 403.)

Du Bois then went on to say that imperialism:

. . . offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters, if

in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost . . . *strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls*. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply sell it into new slavery to old masters overseas. (Ibid., page 403. My emphasis—H.W.)

Thus Du Bois' message exposed both the internal and external implications of the "Pan-Africanism" concocted by George Padmore. Du Bois demonstrated that neo-Pan-Africanism—despite its demagogic emphasis on *internal* racial unity for Blacks—in reality foments disunity among oppressed Africans and Blacks in the United States. This is its effect because it subordinates the masses and their needs to the narrow nationalist aims of a minority.

Du Bois showed that in its external manifestations, neo-Pan-Africanism—in the name of "racial" unity against "white" Communism—seeks to separate the liberation struggles in Africa and the United States from the world anti-imperialist revolutionary process. Du Bois exposed neo-Pan-Africanist ideology which interprets brotherhood in terms of skin—aiming to separate the oppressed peoples from their natural allies of *all* colors in and out of the socialist countries, while advancing the unity of the Black "fellow capitalist with the white exploiters."

The essence of neo-Pan-Africanism—Padmore's anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, separatist views—fits into the strategy of imperialism. This strategy was aptly described by Amilcar Cabral, leader of the people of "Portuguese" Guinea and its Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), who, like Patrice Lumumba, was assassinated by agents of neo-colonialism. Cabral wrote:

The objectives of the imperialist countries was to prevent the enlargement of the socialist camp, to liberate the reactionary forces in our countries which were stifled by colonialism and to enable these forces to ally themselves with the international

bourgeoisie. The fundamental objective was to create a bourgeoisie where one did not exist, in order to strengthen the imperialist and the capitalist camp. (*Revolution in Guinea*, by Amilcar Cabral, Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1969, page 71.)

Cabral's views were, of course, identical with those in Du Bois' message to the Accra Conference. Cabral was also as one with Du Bois in his opposition to the anti-Sovietism of neo-Pan-Africanism when Cabral spoke of "*the socialist countries who are our historical associates*." (Ibid., page 71. My emphasis—H.W.)

And when he went on to state:

the essential characteristic of our times. . . . is the general struggle of the peoples against imperialism and the existence of a socialist camp, which is the greatest bulwark against imperialism. (Ibid., page 147.)

He was simultaneously challenging neo-Pan-Africanism and the Maoists' revolutionism—and their alliance in divisiveness on the African continent.

In fact, the contradictions in the recent radical attempts at a critique of neo-Pan-Africanism can be traced to the influence of—and the affinity between—Padmore's anti-Communist perversion of Pan-Africanism and the Maoist revision of Marxism-Leninism. It is in part this influence which has led Robert Allen and Adolph L. Reed Jr. to join with Stokely Carmichael and others in equating the Black condition in the U.S. with that of colonially oppressed majorities outside the United States. This unscientific, anti-Marxist concept obscures the differences between a strategy for colonial majorities fighting against imperialism for liberation and national self-determination, and a strategy for the liberation of the Black minority within the stronghold of imperialist, international capital in the U.S.

### *An Arsenal for Betrayal*

The struggle against Maoist influences has become a crucial part of the struggle against imperialism, for the unity of the world's working classes and peoples in the fight against racist, national and class oppression.

On every continent where bourgeois nationalism is an obstacle to the unity of the oppressed, Maoism serves as an ideological arsenal for national betrayal within the liberation movements. This is why even the most conservative bourgeois nationalist supporters of neo-Pan-Africanism welcome any type of "radicalism" influenced by Maoist "theories." The reactionary bourgeois nationalists, like their neo-colonialist patrons, recognize that Maoism has nothing in common with the anti-imperialist nature of Marxism-Leninism.

Nothing pleases U.S. imperialism's ideological strategists more than widespread circulation of Maoist conceptions which aim at destroying the relationship between the Socialist camp and its Soviet bulwark and the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. And Robert Allen reflects a central aspect of Maoism, regrettably weakening his critique of neo-Pan-Africanism, when he writes:

Today the major political and military forces capable of setting the stage for the final destruction of imperialism are gathering in the Third World. *This is the chief dynamic of modern history.* (*The Black Scholar*. February, 1972, pages 15-16. My emphasis—H.W.)

In this concept of a "third world" one can trace Mao Tse-tung's departure from even the semblance of a working class, internationalist outlook to a Chinese great power chauvinist position. For the Maoists, the purpose of this "theory" is to isolate the liberation struggles on every continent from the Socialist camp—the "bulwark" and "historical associates," in Cabral's words, of every struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and class and racial oppression.

It is via this "theory"—which portrays the liberation struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America as an independent entity without internal class contradictions, separate from the total world revolutionary process—that Maoism projects a strategy that *fragments* the international, anti-imperialist struggle.

This "theory" of the "third world" as the "chief dynamic" of history is based on the Maoist substitution of race for class as the motive force of history. As depicted by Maoism, the non-white "countryside" of the world is in struggle against the "white metropolitan City"—a racial concept concealing the true motive force of history.

By using such terms as "superpowers" to describe both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the Maoists would make it appear that their breach of the Socialist world camp unity is no cause for alarm in the world liberation movements. If, as they claim, the "third world" is an independent "zone" between the "two superpowers," then surely there is no need for unity with the Soviet "superpower" against imperialism—especially since the main contradiction, the "chief dynamic," is allegedly between the "non-white, third world" zone and the "white metropolitan" world that includes the "two superpowers."

One cannot hold to a false theory without falsifying facts as the Maoists do in, for instance, depicting the Soviet Union as "white." In reality, the Soviet Union is a multi-racial, multi-national society born out of a struggle based on the solidarity of the Russian working class with the working classes of more than fifty oppressed nations and peoples—including almost every race in today's "third world." It was this kind of proletarian internationalism that won these oppressed peoples for a united multi-racial, multi-national, anti-imperialist struggle culminating in the October Revolution. Not a skin strategy but a *class* strategy was the "chief dynamic" of this historic breakthrough—resulting in liberation from imperialism for the first time in history.



Ever since the October Revolution, the contradiction between the Socialist and capitalist systems has been the *central* contradiction—the “chief dynamic”—in the world, shaping the course of the class struggle everywhere. The Soviet Union and the Socialist countries united with it constitute the chief contradiction against imperialism, accelerating and intensifying the final crisis of capitalism and hastening a new epoch in human history, an epoch in which the stormy advances of the Socialist countries, merging with the struggles for class and national liberation in the capitalist world, fuse to form a single invincible anti-imperialist component of the revolutionary process. Every expression of the class struggle nationally and internationally spurs the forced retreat of imperialism and accelerates the transition of society from capitalism to socialism—the abolition of all forms of class, racial and national oppression. This is the central fact of the period in which we live.

Without a scientific understanding of the central contradiction today—between the world system of Socialism and declining imperialism—it is impossible to arrive at a strategy for the liberation of oppressed peoples and classes. The recognition of this contradiction as the “chief dynamic” of the class and national struggles for liberation in no way diminishes the role of “third world” peoples and nations within the dynamics of the anti-imperialist struggle.

On the contrary, only by understanding the contradiction between the Socialist and imperialist systems as the “chief dynamic” can each class and people exploited by imperialism be seen as an indivisible part of the world revolutionary process. By recognizing this central contradiction, each can develop a strategy to unleash the potential of its particular liberation struggle, reinforcing and harmonizing with the world fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Maoism has departed from the principles that brought victory to the Chinese revolution, and without which today's struggles against neo-colonialism cannot be won, i.e., world anti-imperialist unity.

### *Blurring Class Distinctions*

Neo-Pan-Africanism, the doctrine that breaks with the Pan-Africanism of Du Bois, diverts the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. and the struggle in South Africa—each with its own specific historical conditions and requirements—away from a liberating strategy. It does this by blurring class distinctions both with regard to the oppressed peoples and their oppressors.

When Ron Karenga, for instance, who appears to be closely identified with Baraka's views, writes that “the insistence on stressing ‘class differences’ among blacks is counter-productive,” (“*Overtaking Ourselves: From Mystification to Meaningful Struggle*,” by Ron Karenga. *The Black Scholar*, October, 1972, page 12.) it becomes apparent that he wishes to obscure class differences in order to stress his own class position—neo-Pan-Africanist bourgeois nationalism—within the Black liberation movement. Karenga confirms this impression when he states:

Politically we need also to develop our perspectives in the framework of nationalist ideology. We must understand that our fundamental struggle is for space. We must occupy and control space in every area that serves our interests. Space is essentially an institutional concept and can be defined as an area or unit of identifiable interest. Wherever our collective interests are involved we must have the power to protect them and we cannot do it if we do not occupy and control adequate space . . . Developmental space is tied up with the notion of expansion of a people extending itself in the ocean of infinite possibilities available. It involves building alternative solidarities, systems and institutions whose main function is to develop as opposed to defend or simply to survive. (Ibid. Page 13. My emphasis—H.W.)

Behind the facade of this skillfully manipulated rhetoric is the bourgeois nationalism of those who would betray the Black masses by abandoning the strategy for Black libera-

tion in this country just as surely as the neo-Pan-Africanists in South Africa and their Maoist supporters betrayed the liberation movement when they chose "alternative solidarities" to a united struggle against the white imperialist government of South Africa.

Karenga, who identifies "space" as the aim of the Black people's struggle, implies that the ghetto space the racist oppressors force Blacks to occupy is inadequate. But he nevertheless offers what can only be interpreted as a U.S. variation of the disastrous separatist alternative found in the fragmented apartheid Bantustans of South Africa.

Projecting separatist "alternative solidarities" in place of a united strategy for defeating monopoly control of the government is a betrayal of the struggle against racist oppression—on a par with the separatist and emigrationist alternatives of those who opposed Frederick Douglass' strategy against the slave power.

Karenga confuses systems with institutions. *Every Black institution and organization in the Black community should have as its purpose the winning of democratic control of those communities.* But not as an end in itself. Community control does not open up the possibility of an alternative economic system for the Black masses, either in a separate state or region or in a series of ghetto "Bantustans" scattered across the country.

### ***But This is the Essence of What Karenga is Striving for***

He is, in effect, saying, "Forget about fighting for your right to full and equal participation in the great productive economic system you helped build. Don't use the strength of your self-organization, of your communities and your millions of workers to fight for jobs and equality. Abandon the fight to build a united struggle against monopoly—a struggle that would open the way to destruction of racism and oppression through socialism." Karenga, in other words, offers Black people in the U.S. a domestic version of the

neo-Pan-African separatist "alternative" that has strengthened the racist South African government's power.

Does anyone believe Blacks in the U.S. will accept a U.S. counterpart of the apartheid "liberation" that the people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress and the Communist Party of South Africa, are heroically fighting?

## 6

### **MAOIST VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION**

Radicals without first-hand knowledge of what happened in such places as South Africa, Nigeria, the Sudan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, and who are misinformed about the internal policies of Maoism, frequently tend to reject the evidence documenting the Maoists' role in betraying the worldwide struggles against imperialism for self-determination and national liberation.

However, even before Maoism's break with the Marxist-Leninist principles of the right of self-determination asserted itself on an international scale, the influence of "the thought of Mao" within China was already imposing Han Chinese great power policies on the many nationalities formerly imprisoned in the Chinese Empire—fully as many nationalities as had been imprisoned in the Czarist empire.

One reason many honest radicals find it difficult to recognize Maoist great power nationalism is because China was preyed upon by foreign powers (not only Western white

capitalist powers, but also *non-white* Japanese imperialism) for over one hundred years. For this reason, many people mistakenly place China among the oppressed nations of the "third world."

*Although China underwent some of the forms of external domination experienced by most of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, it is not generally recognized that China's experience falls within a qualitatively different category from that of other oppressed nations, past or present. Even though its sovereignty was violated by one or more powers for over 100 years, with sometimes large areas of her territory occupied by foreign invaders, China simultaneously remained an oppressor nation.*

The concept of Han Chinese racial supremacy stretches back to approximately 500 years B. C. Until the 1949 Revolution, China had a *continuous record* for over 2,000 years as an oppressor country, a continuity unbroken even during the periods its own sovereignty was violated.

In dispensing with internationalist principles, the Maoists are betraying the Chinese people's long history of revolutionary struggle. Under a cloak of pseudo-Marxist rhetoric, Maoism bases itself on the revival of Great Han chauvinist traditions—whose history is longer than that of racist, chauvinist oppression in any other country.

In basing itself on the reactionary aspects of Han Chinese experience, Maoism is violating the heritage of thousands of years of struggle against both foreign and domestic oppression of the Han Chinese masses and other peoples of the old Chinese Empire.

For thousands of years China was known as the Celestial Empire, centering around the Middle Kingdom of Han Chinese which dominated the non-Chinese areas to the north, south and west. Today the Han Chinese dominate a multinational state of close to 100 nations, national groups and nationalities, with histories of oppression going back through much of the past 5,000 years. The non-Chinese nations and nationalities—including the Uigurs, Mongols, Tibetans, Manchus and Kazakhs—are located in most of the western parts and in various sections of the north and south

of the People's Republic of China. The areas where non-Chinese peoples live amounts to about sixty per cent of the territory of the Han Chinese controlled state.

One cannot grasp the real meaning of the "cultural revolution" without understanding that Mao Tse-tung unleashed the hordes of Red Guards to smash the massive resistance within the Communist Party to Mao's betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the right of self-determination internally and of proletarian internationalism. This betrayal is central to all aspects of Maoist policy within China and on a world scale.

### *Han Chinese in Control*

Because of Maoist influence, the Chinese Communist Party never fully accepted Leninist principles of self-determination. However, as long as the Party maintained unity with the Soviet Union and the world Communist and Workers' Parties against imperialism, and while the forces loyal to Marxist-Leninist policies within the Chinese Communist Party were able at least partially to withstand the bourgeois great power nationalism of the Maoists, the Party's policies did not completely deviate from proletarian internationalism.

But the Chinese Revolution never adopted the Leninist policy of the right of self-determination for solution of the national question. The Chinese Communist Party denied this right to the many non-Chinese nations within China's territory, offering instead formal regional autonomy to some of the non-Chinese national minorities. This left the Han majority as the controlling force in all areas and over all nations and nationalities within the unitary state.

Thus the policies relating to national liberation in China differed fundamentally from those in the U.S.S.R. There, in accord with Lenin's principles, more than 15 distinct republics plus many autonomous regional areas emerged among

the peoples formerly oppressed by Great Russian Czarism. Within this voluntary union of peoples, the heritage of racism, national hatred and inequality between the former oppressor nation and the oppressed peoples has been eliminated.

However, in China, under Mao, even the peoples granted formal autonomy find their areas administered by Han Chinese. In fact, since the "cultural revolution," Han military officers have become the dominant administrative force in every non-Chinese area.

Moreover, the "cultural revolution" brought such an intensification of the Maoist Sinicization policy that masses of Hans have been sent in to occupy the non-Chinese peoples' "autonomous" regions. In some places, the Maoists have violated the right of self-determination to the extent that the original non-Chinese majorities have become the minority in their own homelands!

The director of the Chinese Linguistic Project at Princeton University, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., reports that the Maoists have not only taken steps toward the forced Sinicization of the non-Chinese languages, they have also:

. . . taken effective action to control and contain ethnic minorities within the borders of China. Here the policy has been clear: *pay lip service to the minority culture, but do everything possible to see that it Sinicizes itself out of existence. Although there has been dark talk of genocide, the most effective tactic has been simple racial drowning. Chinese immigration into Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet has made the indigenous people true minorities even in their own areas.* (*Communist China in the Light of History*, by Frank A. Kierman, Jr. Appearing in *Communist China, 1949-1969*. Edited by Frank N. Trager and William Henderson. New York University Press. Page 20. My emphasis—H.W.)

While Maoism continues to hide behind "Marxist" rhetoric—especially to keep up the appearance of "revolution-

ism" internationally—within China one finds that even this facade is often dispensed with. For example, the magazine *Sinkiang Hungui*, edited by a Han Chinese in Sinkiang, the homeland of a distinctly non-Chinese people, openly calls for forcible Sinicization, declaring that the Chinese constitute the largest segment of the population of the Chinese People's Republic. The publication states that the Chinese:

. . . are more advanced politically, economically and culturally. Therefore the nations' merger must be effected on the basis of one nationality. Speaking of China, the backbone must be Chinese . . . The specific features of the Chinese nation will ultimately be shared by national minorities. (*Mao's Great-Han Chauvinism and Small Nationalities*, by U. Sidimov. Appearing in *Unity Magazine*, No. 3, 1972, page 84, Novosti, Moscow.)

The Maoists have resorted to every possible method to speed the process of forced Sinicization and denial of the right of self-determination for the non-Chinese within the anti-Leninist single state nation. In addition to unlimited Chinese migration into non-Chinese regions, the Maoists pursue a policy of what is called gerrymandering in the U.S., a practice often used to deny Black people and other oppressed minorities their rights. In Mao's book, this process is carried to its most extreme point with the national existence of entire peoples violated by the forcible attachment of Chinese areas to non-Chinese areas and vice versa.

For example, two Chinese-populated provinces have been attached to the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia, resulting in the transformation of the Mongols from a majority to a minority of about 10 percent. This same method is being used to "drown" the national existence of the Chuangs, the third largest non-Chinese people. The Chuangs have been divided up so that less than half now live in the Kwangsi-Chuang autonomous region, with the rest scattered in several neighboring provinces without the right to autonomy.

### *"Worsening Position of the National Minorities"*

One bourgeois writer, Robert A. Rupen, Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, accurately describes the "cultural revolution" as involving "the conflicts of Han *versus* Han" (*Peking and National Minorities*, by Robert A. Rupen. Appearing in *Communist China, 1949-1969*, page 248. Emphasis in the original.) over differences on the national question between supporters and opponents of Mao's policies—but then goes on to describe the Maoists' victory in this conflict as "the radicalization of the Chinese revolution." However, Rupen unwittingly reveals that what he calls "radicalization" is in fact the opposite:

. . . the radicalization of the Chinese revolution also involved a greater *Sinification* of the minority territories . . . The new revolutionary committees, which are apparently designed to restore control over the country, assign a key role to the military, that is, to the Han Chinese. *The Cultural Revolution and its aftermath may well have as one result a permanent worsening of the position of the national minorities.* (Ibid., My emphasis—H.W.)

Although this writer reports some aspects of the worsening position of national minorities resulting from Maoist policies, he tries to reconcile these policies with the bourgeois myth of Maoist "radicalism" and "militance." Yet the facts he himself presents prove that Maoism has not only betrayed the revolutionary principles of self-determination, but has profoundly deformed Socialist advances made before Maoism gained the upper hand. As long as such violations and deformations are not corrected, socialism itself will remain in jeopardy in China.

Rupen, ironically, gives additional examples contradicting the myth of radicalization under Mao:

. . . Chinese settlement continues and poses the most serious long term threat . . . Industrialization and urbanization usually favor Han over non-Han. The more economic development

in minority areas, the more transportation is improved, the more Han Chinese move in. *The minorities can probably survive as identifiable cultural units only if they receive special treatment from Peking. A completely consistent "equality" line will lead to their disappearance.*

Over the long term, the survival of peoples and cultures geographically situated between Russia and China seems very doubtful. It would be possible for central policy to protect the national minorities against Han chauvinism. *Indeed, in the past Peking sometimes did endeavor to help non-Han against Han incursion and arrogance. But if Peking's policy is otherwise—if, as now seems to be the case, special protection for the national minorities is denounced as Liu Shao-chi's Krushchevite deviation—the minorities are in grave danger.* (Ibid. Pages 248-249. My emphasis—H.W.)

The "past" the writer refers to—when Peking sometimes did endeavor to help non-Han against "Han incursion and arrogance"—was the period before the Chinese Communist Party's complete break with Leninist policies. However, the Maoists' differences with Leninism began to emerge at an early date, as can be seen in a comparison between the state forms of the Chinese People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In 1922, after four years of imperialist intervention and Civil War, a voluntary union of fifteen Socialist Union Republics, together with autonomous regions of smaller national minorities—whose areas did not offer the possibility of viable national economies—became the Leninist solution to the national question in the former Czarist empire.

Lenin opposed adoption of a unitary state, the type set up under Maoist influence—with tens of millions of non-Chinese compressed into a unitary Chinese state, the Chinese People's Republic. Lenin rejected the views of those who said that:

. . . self-determination is impossible under capitalism and superfluous under socialism.



From the theoretical standpoint that view is nonsensical; from the practical political standpoint it is chauvinistic. (*Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Volume 23, page 74.)

Under Mao, self-determination for non-Han nations was indeed considered "superfluous," and these nations were locked into a unitary state.

Lenin pointed out that a unitary state, with formerly oppressed nations limited to regional autonomy, would mean denial of the right to self-determination, leaving the Russian former oppressor nation in a privileged position. In Lenin's view those who counterposed regional autonomy to self-determination were not revolutionists but reformists:

A reformist national programme does *not* abolish *all* the privileges of the ruling nation; it does *not* establish complete equality; it does *not* abolish national oppression *in all its forms*. An "autonomous" nation does not enjoy rights equal to those of the "ruling" nation. (Ibid. Volume 22, page 244. Emphasis in the original.)

Lenin stressed that Communist Parties of oppressor countries:

. . . should recognize and champion the *oppressed* nation's right to self-determination.. The socialist of a ruling or colonial nation who does not stand for that right is a chauvinist. (Ibid. Volume 21, page 316)

Lenin added:

The championing of this right, far from encouraging the formation of petty states, leads, on the contrary, to the freer, fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of large states and federation of states, which are more to the advantage of the masses, and are more in keeping with economic development. (Ibid.)

But the unitary state form of the Chinese People's Republic does not offer the basis for developing a "freer" and "therefore wider" union of the peoples of the former Chinese Empire.

To those influenced by great nation chauvinism, Lenin stated:

. . . one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but place *above* it the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality. Everyone accepts this in "theory" but displays an annexationist indifference in practice. There is the root of the evil. (Ibid. Volume 22, page 347.)

And "annexationist indifference" to the rights of non-Chinese nations within the Chinese People's Republic is "the root of the evil" of Maoist great power chauvinism.

### *Descent from Leninism*

In 1963, at the request of Robert Williams, Mao Tse-tung issued a statement calling for support to "the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. *In the final analysis, a national struggle is a class struggle.* (*Sino-American Relations, 1949-71*. Documented and introduced by Roderick Mac Farquahr. Praeger, New York, page 197. My emphasis—H.W.)

This statement is a telling clue to the Maoist descent from a Leninist, class position to Han Chinese great power chauvinism. According to Maoism, it is enough to engage in the rhetoric of class struggle, while postponing adherence to policies based on the working class and its scientific socialist ideology to an unforeseeable future—i.e., to "the final analysis."

Such Maoist policies could not but lead to a betrayal of the working class' historic mission.

Leninist principles demand not only formal observance of equality, but above all guarantee of the right of self-determination.

Despite the "revolutionary" image it presents to the world (with the assistance of the mass media of U.S. imperialism), Maoist policy within China is reminiscent of the perennial policies of Right-wing socialists in the U.S. in relation to the oppression of Black people. Like the Maoists in China, these Right-wing socialists claim that the national struggle, in the final analysis will be resolved, and therefore must await, the unfolding of the class struggle. In the meantime, the Right-wing socialists in the U.S. and Europe continue to support the neo-colonialist policies of their respective bourgeoisies in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Maoism has gone even further to the Right than the Right-wing socialists with their traditional claim that the national question will be automatically resolved in the course of the class struggle: *In "theory" and practice, Maoist policy aims at "resolving" the question of China's national minorities by using Han Chinese-controlled state power not to compensate for inequalities originating from oppression under the Celestial Empire—but to transform all the homeland areas of China's minorities into a single, all-inclusive homeland for Han Chinese. In other words, Maoism aims at the forced "disappearance" of minorities through policies of Han Chinese supremacy.*

Internally, Maoism betrays Leninist principles with its aim of demolishing the identity of non-Han peoples through Sinicization of all within the territory of the Chinese People's Republic. Outside of China, Maoist betrayal of international solidarity takes an opposite form—but its content, too, is contrary to Leninist principles of the right to self-determination:

For example, in relation to struggles of the racially and nationally oppressed Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indians in the U.S., and the many different nations, nationalities and tribes in Africa, Asia and Latin America, Maoism demagogically emphasizes the unique aspects of the identity, race, nationality or tribe, stressing all the points of difference

—counterposing the struggle for identity with the struggle for unity and solidarity against imperialism.

Leninism, however, seeks to advance the self-action and identity of each oppressed people, while recognizing the dialectical relationship between each oppressed people and the solidarity of all oppressed peoples within the anti-imperialist struggle.

### *Separatism or Solidarity?*

Maoism, in Africa and elsewhere, has been a source of division, promoting separatism instead of solidarity among the many class and national liberation forces. This international advocacy of separatism jeopardizes the struggles for liberation from neo-colonialism and imperialism, just as Sinicization violates the solidarity and national existence of non-Han Chinese peoples within the People's Republic of China.

Earl Ofari, one of the radical critics of neo-Pan-Africanism who misunderstands Maoist policy within China, comes close to certain aspects of neo-Pan-Africanism himself when he equates the struggles for the right of self-determination in Africa with the struggle for Black liberation in the U.S. Ofari writes:

The Afro-American movement has followed a similar course as the African freedom struggle. The three main objectives have been self-determination, political power, and land for economic control. (*Marxism-Leninism—The Key to Black Liberation*, by Earl Ofari. *The Black Scholar*. Sept. 1972. Page 39.)

In saying this, Ofari equates the strategy for a Black minority with that of majorities fighting for independence and liberation in various African countries. This approach unfortunately fits in with the anti-Leninist view that self-organization requires a separatist path. Separatism—and not

solidarity within a wider strategy against the white monopolists—jeopardizes the special identity and advance of Black liberation in the U.S. Of developments in China, Ofari writes:

The Chinese didn't rely on phony civil rights bills, Fair Housing Acts, Equal Employment Commissions, reams of studies, or countless conferences; they took forthright action making full use of workers state power to end the centuries of national oppression. (Ibid. Page 40)

It would be useful for Ofari to ponder the assertion that the Chinese "... took forthright action making full use of workers, state power to end the centuries of national oppression."

To achieve this would make it mandatory for the "... workers state power" to guarantee that all formerly oppressed nationalities would be able to exercise in life the principles of self-determination. The Maoists rejected the concept of self-determination for China. They adopted the slogan of regional autonomy. Regional autonomy is a form which, if applied, can advance the struggle for national rights, but is not and cannot be the full and unconditional exercise of the right of self-determination for formerly oppressed nationalities.

The Maoists officially admit that some 72 nationalities are present in China. Further study may indicate still more.

Some of the major nationalities are: Chuang - 7,785,414, Hwei - 3,934,335, Uighur - 3,901,205, Yi - 3,264,432, Tibetan - 2,775,622, Miao - 2,687,590, Manchurian - 2,430,561, Mongol - 1,645,695, Puyi - 1,313,015, Korean - 1,255,551, Kam (Tung) - 825,323, Yao - 747,985, Pai - 684,386, T'uchia - 603,773, Hani - 549,362, Kazakh - 533,160, Thai - 503,616 as well as the Li, Lisu, Wa, She, Koashan and many other peoples.

To substantiate this misunderstanding of Maoist policy on the national question, Ofari quotes the following from a Czech writer, Josef Kolmas:

Minorities officially gained equal status, the right of local self-government, and freedom to develop their language and life . . . Regional autonomy is the basic policy which the government has adopted in its approach to the national problem. According to the Chinese constitution, autonomy is to be exercised in areas where minorities live in compact communities. In all other cases the electoral system is so arranged that they have suitable representation in local governments. Today, there are five autonomous, self-governing regions in China, and sixty-five smaller groupings known as autonomous counties. (Ibid. Page 40)

In the article from which this quotation is taken, Kolmas reveals that these views developed when "I studied in China for two years—from 1957 to 1959 . . . (*The Minority Nationalities*, by Josef Kolmas. Appearing in *Contemporary China*, edited by Ruth Adams. Pantheon Books, a Division of Random House, New York, 1966. Page 51.)

The years when Kolmas was in China are significant. The complete break with Leninism had not yet been consummated by Mao. It was at the beginning of the sixties that this break became more open, and it took the violence of the "cultural revolution" unleashed against all who sought to adhere to Marxism-Leninism to establish Maoist ascendancy. However, even though Kolmas based his opinions on China on personal experience predating events of the sixties, he had already begun to entertain grave doubts about the fate of the non-Han minorities:

I am not sure, for instance, whether the concept that every national area is an integral and inseparable part of the territory of The People's Republic of China is absolutely correct. (Ibid. Page 60)

Thus, Kolmas reveals that the Chinese Communist Party, under Mao's influence, never recognized the Leninist principle of self-determination in its highest form. In doing so, he also confirms the fact that Ofari is profoundly mistaken in

his view that Chinese and Soviet policy "was in substantial agreement" (*Marxism-Leninism—The Key To Black Liberation*, by Earl Ofari. *The Black Scholar*, Sept. 1972, page 39) on the question of national self-determination.

Further, regional autonomy—a lesser form of self-determination—within a unitary state is a policy opposite from that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is a negation of the right to self-determination, a Maoist-Han denial of the right of nationalities to choose the character of their relationship to the Han Chinese. Through great power Han nationalism, Maoism carries out a forcible integration of the non-Han nationalities into a Sinicized state dominated by Han Chinese. This is the meaning of Kolmas' concern that every national area has been made an "inseparable" part of the Chinese People's Republic. Undoubtedly, this is why he added:

It goes without saying that such tendencies are absolutely incompatible with the idea of territorial integrity, and sooner or later lead to conflict. Such was and is the case of the Tibetans, for instance. However, if I understand the Chinese leaders' psychology, and if I am absolutely frank, I have to say that I do not see any practical solution to this dilemma. To cite again the case of Tibet, it is known that the question of Tibet has never been, nor will ever be, a partisan issue in Chinese domestic policies. (*The Minority Nationalities*, by Josef Kolmas. *Contemporary China*, page 60.)

On this last point Kolmas is incorrect. It is true that the right of self-determination was never a "domestic issue" in China under Chiang Kai-shek. And now, through the "cultural revolution," Maoism is doing all in its power to bury the Leninist solution to the "domestic" issue of the national question in China. But the "Chinese leaders' psychology"—that is, Maoist descent into open Han racism—cannot prevail indefinitely against the Chinese working class, the forces loyal to proletarian internationalism and the right of

self-determination in China. This is why what Kolmas sees as a "dilemma" without "practical solution" is actually an historic phase of the struggle in China, in which the forces of class and national liberation have suffered a serious but temporary defeat.

Kolmas himself touches on the meaning of this setback when he states:

However natural and even inevitable a phenomenon it is, this progressive Sinification represents, in the final analysis, a danger of full absorption of a relatively weak non-Han element by a stronger Han element. The history of China shows not a few such examples. (*Ibid.*, page 61.)

Despite this danger, Marxists foresee a different path for China. The nature of the contradictions within China and the indestructibility of Leninism will yet bring China to its place within the Socialist, anti-imperialist camp—as a part of the world struggle leading ultimately from Socialism to Communism and the eventual amalgamation of all peoples. This will come about not through forced Sinicization or any other great power nationalism, but through living in a society where all traces of class, national and racial oppression will have disappeared.

### *Unacceptable Policies*

Maoist policies are no more acceptable than any of the other policies denying oppressed minorities, nationalities and nations their rights anywhere in the world, including the United States. And despite Ofari's mistaken information about minorities in China, Han racism and discrimination are as unacceptable to the non-Hans as the racism and discrimination experienced by non-white people in the U.S.

One may be sure that when the people of Sinkiang are forced by Han nationalism and Mao-sponsored immigration

aggressions to become a minority in their own ancient homeland, their feelings of national injustice and humiliation are no less acute than those of non-whites in the U.S. Further, because of Maoist Sinicization, the non-Hans experience day-to-day job discrimination paralleling that experienced by Blacks and other oppressed peoples in the United States.

In the U.S., Black workers are shut out of construction and other industrial jobs. In China, Sinkiang workers are also shut out of construction and other industrial jobs. And in Tanzania, Maoist "aid" to that government bars Africans from jobs in construction, while thousands of Chinese are brought in to build a railroad.

Professor Robert A. Rupen reports, for instance, that construction of a "great steel mill at Paotow has changed the economic profile of Inner Mongolia considerably, although the labor force at the mill is largely Chinese. (*Peking and the National Minorities*, by Robert A. Rupen. *Communist China, 1949-1969*. Page 246.) This is but one example of the nature of Maoist Sinicization as it discriminates against, and "drowns," non-Han peoples over vast areas of China. This job discrimination is part of a pattern of Han supremacy affecting every aspect of the lives of the non-Han peoples—education, housing, representation in the Party, the government, etc.

Such reports of the Sinicization of jobs in industry and construction come in not only from Inner Mongolia. And there is more meaning to this than the bourgeois professor indicates as new industries continue to change the profile of China. Behind its "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric, Maoist policy is altering and deforming the development of the expanding working class in a way only too reminiscent of industrial development in the U.S. based as it was on the denial of jobs and opportunities to non-whites.

With 350 years of experience in the way U.S. capitalism has built its power by dividing workers according to race and nationality, it should not be difficult to recognize the

great harm Maoism does to working class development in China through job discrimination.

Internationally as well as internally Maoist policies—whether economic or political—generate division within various working classes, and between the working classes and the peoples. Their policies regarding formerly oppressed peoples contradict the Leninist policies of self-determination and equality in the Soviet Union. And internationally their policies also run counter to those of the Soviet Union. In Tanzania, for example, where the Chinese People's Republic contracted to build a railroad, labor practices are similar to those in the construction industry in the U.S., with its racist contractors and racist union misleaders. The Chinese not only brought in engineers and technicians (thousands of Chinese scientists, engineers and technicians were trained in the Soviet Union before Maoism disrupted the unity of the socialist camp). They also brought in thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled Chinese, shutting off jobs for Tanzanians. And this fact has enormous significance for the anti-imperialist struggle to secure the future of newly independent African countries.

In most African countries, the working class is at an early stage of development. The rate at which a modern working class emerges and matures in each country will have a profound effect on that country's struggles to take the non-capitalist path of development. For underdeveloped countries this is a long, complicated process. Achieving more effective independence from neo-colonialism and its internal class allies is bound up with the emergence of the working class—the most consistent force for national independence, social progress and ultimately socialism. Only working-class leadership in African countries can bring about a great commonwealth of African nations.

Chinese labor policy in Tanzania is an international extension of its internal policies of Han chauvinism. Soviet economic and political policy in African countries is also an international extension of its internal policies. But these are

*Leninist* policies in relation to the working class and the national question. It is well known that the Soviet Union has assisted in industrial construction in many of the newly independent countries of Africa, has helped build great steel mills in India, the Aswan dam and other developments in Egypt. In each of these countries, Soviet policy aids the emergence and upgrading of a modern working class. When Soviet scientists and technicians assist, for instance, in developing an African country, they involve and train Africans at every level of the operation. And it should be remembered that the Soviet Union, at incalculable sacrifice, helped China lay the basis for industrial development, as it is now doing in Cuba and so many other countries.

Vidya P. Dutt, who headed the Department of East Asian Studies at the Indian School of International Studies in New Delhi, was a member of the Indian government's cultural delegation to China in 1952, and subsequently spent three years there doing research during the period when the foundations for China's economic development were being established. Dutt writes:

The question of Soviet aid to China needs to be understood in its proper perspective. There has been a plethora of misleading statements and considerable confusion about it in recent times . . . yet Soviet aid to Peking cannot be measured in terms of roubles loaned or gifted to China, it has to be viewed in the context of the total role played by Moscow in China's industrialization. The fact of the matter is that the Soviet Union has played a massive role in the industrialization of China, that whatever degree of industrial development Peking has been able to boast of is primarily due to Moscow's helping hand, and that few countries in modern times provided so much assistance in pushing up another country's basic productive capacity. This writer in his extensive travels in China during 1956-58 did not see a single factory or plant which had not been the recipient of Soviet aid in some form or another . . .

The Chinese themselves recorded that by the end of 1957 the Soviet Union was helping in the construction of 211 major industrial enterprises which constituted the backbone of China's heavy industry. The technical agreements between the two countries gave Peking access to blueprints of Soviet factories and other technological data. Moscow also shipped some 7,000 - 10,000 experts to China to assist in the setting up of enterprises and training of Chinese workers and technical personnel. An estimated 10,000 Chinese also went to the Soviet Union for education and training. . . . And let there be no mistake, Moscow supplied Peking with machinery more liberally than it did to any other single country. (*China and the World*, by Vidya Prakash Dutt. Frederick A. Praeger. New York. 1964. Pages 59, 60, 61.)

Perhaps nothing exposes the bourgeois myth that Mao has "adapted Marxism-Leninism to China" more than the contrast between Soviet and Maoist policy on the national question. The Maoists have used the vast aid received from the Soviet Union during the first decade of the People's Republic of China in a way that *violated Leninist principles*. This unprecedented aid was advanced without strings, but with the definite understanding that it be used in accord with mutually agreed upon principles of proletarian internationalism. But because of Maoist influence, Soviet aid was not used to overcome inequities between Han and non-Han peoples. Instead, Maoism betrayed the Leninist principles motivating Soviet assistance. Under the Maoist bourgeois nationalist concept of "equality," China's economic, social and political policies have come into irreconcilable conflict with the non-Han people's right to self-determination—intensifying the heritage of inequality between Han and non-Han.

Maoist policy not only continues to violate the right of self-determination of peoples within the territory of the former Celestial Empire, that is, within the Chinese People's Republic. The Maoists now lay claim to vast areas of the former Czarist Empire, where many once oppressed na-



tionalities have been liberated by Soviet power on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

## 7

## BEHIND THE SINO-SOVIET "BORDER" DISPUTE

For more than a decade the Maoists have accompanied their territorial claims against liberated peoples of the Soviet Union with intermittent military provocations at the border between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. And these provocations have been politically synchronized with the global strategy of U.S. imperialism—objectively giving a green light to U.S. intervention in Vietnam from the beginning of the barbaric aggression. Year after year, the U.S. escalated its aggression in direct proportion to the Maoists' anti-Soviet provocations—their claims on Soviet territory, their rejection of unity with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, and with all the world's anti-imperialist forces in support of the peoples' right to self-determination in Vietnam, Africa, Latin America, etc.

The "border" dispute initiated by the Maoists goes even deeper than the issues of territorial integrity and sovereignty of borders between states. *At stake also is the inviolable right of self-determination for the peoples of the former Czarist empire.*

The peoples on both sides of the 4,500 mile border between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have always been non-Chinese. Most of the area north of the Great Wall has always been the home of several distinct peoples, *none of whom is Chinese. This is an historic reality, notwithstanding the Maoist Han Chinese great power chauvinism that is forcing millions of Han Chinese, against their will, to flood these areas with the aim of erasing the historic existence of the non-Han peoples.*

The Maoists' forced Sinicization of the non-Chinese areas between the Great Wall and the border, is a denial of the right to national existence of the peoples of Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. *And the "border" dispute is a Maoist denial of the right of the non-Chinese Asian peoples on the Soviet side of the border to self-determination—which they have enjoyed for over 55 years.* During these years, the Russians have accepted their internationalist responsibility to the peoples who suffered under Russian Czarist racism and national oppression. Soviet policy has made inequality between Russian and non-Russian a thing of the past.

In a talk with a Japanese Socialist Party delegation in 1964, Mao Tse-tung declared:

The Soviet Union has an area of 22 million square kilometers and its population is only 220 million. It is about time to put an end to this allotment. Japan occupies an area of 370,000 kilometers and its population is 100 million. About a hundred years ago, the area east of (Lake) Baikal became Russian territory, and since then Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka, and other areas have been Soviet territory. We have not yet presented our account for this list. (Quoted in *Sino-Soviet Relations, 1964-1965*, by William E. Griffith. The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1967. Page 366.)

It is impossible to overlook the strategic relationship of this statement to the struggle between imperialism and the Socialist countries and all the world's anti-imperialist forces. In addition to its direct threat to the peoples of the Soviet

Union, Mao's suggestion to Japanese imperialism that China and Japan should consider their mutual interests in Mao's claim to Soviet territory, has even wider significance:

Mao's declaration was timed with expansion of U.S. aggression in Indo-China, and U.S.-NATO support of new levels of Portuguese and South African violence against the liberation movements, as well as stepped-up neo-colonialist penetration of the newly liberated African countries. This statement put China on the side of imperialism against the national liberation struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

No amount of Maoist "revolutionary" rhetoric can erase the reality of Mao's anti-Soviet suggestions to Japanese imperialism, and his open threat to the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union at the very time the Soviet Union was urging—as it has never ceased to urge—Chinese-Soviet unity against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Maoist and U.S. imperialist pretense of a "Soviet threat" to China evaporates in face of the reality of Mao's threats against Soviet territory.

In a statement issued in 1969, the Chinese People's Republic continued to assert territorial claims against the U.S.S.R.:

... the Soviet Government even described tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against semi-colonial China after the mid-19th century, as disputes between 'Chinese emperors and tsars,' in which there was no question of who was the aggressor and who the victim of aggression, nor was there any question of whether the treaties concluded between them are equal or not. This is a gangster logic in defense of tsarist Russian imperialist aggression. (Quoted in *The Foreign Relations of The People's Republic of China*. Edited by Winberg Chai. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York. Page 315.)

The statement continued:

In his time the great Lenin warmly supported China and all other oppressed countries in opposing aggression by tsarist Russian imperialism and all other imperialists. He said that . . . "if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, irrespective of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slaveholding and predatory 'Great' powers." Today when people review these teachings of Lenin's, they can only come to one conclusion: such energetic propagation of the imperialist gangster logic by the Soviet Government is not only alien to the Leninist policy but is also a most shameful betrayal of Leninism. (Ibid., page 315.)

One must ask: is not this statement—which quotes Lenin out of context and distorts his meaning—designed to promote war against the Soviet Union in the name of Leninist principles?

This Maoist declaration ignores the historic distinction between the epoch of imperialism and the earlier period in which the vast areas north of China and west of Russia were the scene of the competing aggressions of Czarism and the Chinese empire. In the course of these struggles between these two colonial empires, various treaties were signed. *The Maoists' statement notwithstanding, whether the treaties favored the Russian or Chinese side in settling these 19th Century disputes, they always perpetuated inequality of the peoples left under control of either Russia or China. The treaties represented only the status of the struggle between aggressors.*

The Soviet Government is true to Leninist principles in insisting that one cannot take sides between Russian czars and Chinese emperors! Both were aggressors.

By refusing to acknowledge that Chinese emperors were also aggressors—even if often the weaker ones—Maoism tries to divert attention from the *real* inequality in the border-fixing between the Chinese and Russian empires—the fact that the competition between these aggressors in the

last half of the 19th Century for domination over the oppressed peoples on *both* sides of the border aided reaction in *both* China and Russia—and weakened China's ability to prevent British and French occupation of key areas in China.

Inequality was inherent then in the oppression of non-Russian and non-Chinese peoples on both sides of the border, regardless of where the border was fixed by the Sino-Russian treaties. And the struggle between the Chinese emperors and Russian czars to control non-Chinese and non-Russian peoples opened the way for Japanese imperialism's defeat of what was to be the last of the Russian czars and Chinese emperors.

When the Maoists claim a principled difference between the aggressions of Russian czars and Chinese emperors, when they deny that *both* sides oppressed their "own" and other peoples, when they protest the "inequality" allegedly imposed by Russian czars on Chinese emperors, they simply reveal their chauvinist indifference to the *real* inequality that existed—the inequality suffered by peoples within both Chinese and Russian czarist empires.

*Only by replacing Leninist principles of the right of self-determination with Han great power nationalism could the Maoists callously ignore the fact that when this right is denied, oppressed nations and nationalities will continue to be oppressed—whether or not treaties result in a greater advantage to one or another of their oppressors.*

In their claim to Soviet territory, Maoists try to conceal this fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle in every way they can—including a seemingly unlimited distortion of Lenin's writings to camouflage Han nationalism. This is what was involved when, for example, Mao quoted Lenin's, "if tomorrow Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just' defensive wars, irrespective of who would be the first to attack . . . "

By putting this statement in its true context, one discovers for instance, that the Maoists have "neglected" to differentiate between the period of the rise of capitalism and that of

monopoly imperialist decline of capitalism. Lenin made these comments at a time when the bourgeois democratic revolution was taking place in China with the declared aim of upholding the right of self-determination. Certainly, if the Chinese Republic, headed by Sun Yat-sen—which defeated the last of the Chinese emperors—had also struck a blow at czarism, it would have speeded the victory of the first Socialist revolution. But things turned out in quite a different way:

*The Chinese Revolution did not strike the external blows that would have hastened the end of czarism. Instead, the October Revolution led by Lenin struck the decisive blows providing the solidarity and material support which brought victory over internal reaction and world imperialism for China in 1949.*

By now, there is all too much evidence that Maoism seeks to reverse the meaning of Leninism. Through its policy of forced Sinicization, which forecloses the right of self-determination, Maoism denies the special claim non-Hans have upon Hans to overcome the heritage of inequality. But Maoism does not stop even there. The Maoists would also forcibly Sinicize the many Asian peoples who have established their own free republics within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Territorial claims against the U.S.S.R. are being made by the Maoists who have violated Leninist principles on the national question through their great power Han chauvinist policies—while the Russian working class, which led the struggle to defeat its own bourgeoisie, has remained true to the Leninist principles of equality and self-determination. What has taken place in the U.S.S.R. is not the Russification but the liberation of nationalities—all the way from the eastern end of the former czarist empire to the western shores of that vast continent.

## 8

### ASIAN NATIONS ON THE SOVIET SIDE OF THE BORDER

The historic difference between Leninist and Maoist approaches to the national question is revealed in the dramatic contrast in status of Asian peoples on the Soviet side of the border—who enjoy the right of self-determination—and Asian peoples on the Chinese side of the border—who are confronted with forced Sinicization.

This vast contrast in the situations of the peoples on each side of the border is the reason why the brilliant young Black scholar, Earl Ofari, is profoundly mistaken when he writes: "The Chinese Communist Party was in substantial agreement with the Soviets on self-determination." (*Marxism-Leninism—The Key to Black Liberation*, by Earl Ofari. *The Black Scholar*, September, 1972. Page 39.)

There has never been full agreement, either in theory or practice, between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the right of self-determination. What gave an outward appearance of "sub-

stantial agreement" in an earlier period was the fact that Mao's Han great power nationalist influence did not become fully dominant until more than a decade after the 1949 Revolution.

But even at the moment of anti-imperialist victory, in 1949, Mao's influence was strong enough so that a unitary state structure was established, the People's Republic of China. The unitary form had been defeated under Lenin's leadership in the period after the October Revolution, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded in 1922.

Lenin opposed a unitary state because it conflicted with the right of self-determination, with the carrying out of policies required to abolish the dominance and privilege of the Russian nation in relation to the non-Russian nations oppressed by czarism. The founding of a unitary state in China was a rejection of these Leninist principles.

With the formation of the U.S.S.R. the formerly oppressed nations in areas with a potentially viable economy were placed on a basis of full equality with the Russian former oppressor nation within the state structure. In addition, those minorities whose numbers or territory did not constitute the basis for viable national republics were granted regional autonomy. Within this great constellation of peoples, the former oppressor nation together with the nations that had been oppressed by czarist imperialism began, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the task of building socialism and national freedom.

Within this context, the Russian former oppressor nation assumed a special historic responsibility in its relations with the many peoples of this multi-racial, multi-national union—the internationalist duty of every formerly oppressor nation to those who have been oppressed by their "own" bourgeoisie, thus implementing their Leninist economic, social and political policies "to make up for the inequality" of the past.

Such policies can hardly be described as "in substantial agreement" with the economic, social and political policies of the Chinese Communist Party! The Maoist Sinicization of non-Chinese nationalities—whose numbers are as great as the non-Russian nationalities in the U.S.S.R.—is magnifying, instead of compensating for, inequalities inherited from the past. Han dominance is wiping out even the formal, partial national rights of minorities in the Chinese People's Republic.

James E. Jackson, National Educational Director of the C.P.U.S.A. writes:

When one considers that there are some 2,000 distinctive peoples in the world—nations, nationalities, tribes—and something less than 150 states, it is apparent that the problem of the solution of the national question and its relationship to social revolution is one of the most important social tasks of the contemporary period.

The experience and spectacular accomplishments of the Soviet Union in solving the problem of realizing the aspirations of formerly oppressed national communities to equality, freedom and unfettered material and spiritual development, affirm the power of Marxist-Leninist theory and Party guidance for the solution of the most complex of revolutionary problems. (*A Mighty Union of Nations*, by James E. Jackson, *Political Affairs*, December, 1972. Pages 41-42.)

The principles of Marxism-Leninism are indeed decisive in every phase of the revolutionary process. Maoism—which violates the identity of national minorities through Sinicization, thus deforming China's Socialist gains—is a contrastingly negative influence on the revolutionary process both internally and on a world scale. The content of Maoist betrayal—violation of solidarity between the working classes and peoples against imperialism—is the same nationally and internationally; only the form changes.

### *Obligations of the Former Oppressor Nation*

The October Revolution was followed by several years of imperialist intervention from every direction, including from the U.S. and Japan. These interventions were defeated by Lenin's policy that united the peoples on the basis of the right of self-determination. This policy combined the rights of the non-Russian peoples with the obligations of the Russian former oppressor nation to carry out the principle of "reparations," that is, to compensate the formerly oppressed peoples for the economically and socially more privileged position gained by the Russian nation at their expense. Led by Lenin, the Russian working class placed this principle at the center of its relationships with the working classes of the many different races and peoples of the Soviet Union; *it became the cornerstone of every political decision, of all facets of economic and social policy, including every decision relating to the successive five-year plans.*

In carrying out this obligation of the former oppressor nation to the formerly oppressed, Soviet policy developed along lines diametrically opposed to Maoism, which proclaims self-determination and equality while it violates the right of self-determination and compounds inequality.

While Lenin warned of the danger of bourgeois nationalism from both the former oppressor nation and the former oppressed nations, he put the emphasis as follows:

A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a big nation and that of a small nation.

In respect of the second kind of nationalism we, nationals of a big nation, have nearly always been guilty, in historic practice, of an infinite number of cases of violence; furthermore, we commit violence and insult an infinite number of times without noticing it.

That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors or "great" nations, as they are called (though they are great only in their violence, only great as bullies), *must consist not only in the observance of formal equality of nations, but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice.* (Lenin, *Collected Works*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966. Volume 36, pages 607-608. My emphasis—H.W.)

Lenin added:

For the proletarian it is not only important, it is absolutely essential that he be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to insure this? *Not merely formal equality. In one way or another, by one's attitude or by concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, for the suspicion and the insults to which the government of the "dominant" nation subjected them in the past.* (*Ibid.*, page 608. My emphasis—H.W.)

By their attitude, by their policies, by their concessions to the formerly oppressed peoples, the truly "great" Russian former oppressor nation has carried out the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism.

The principle of placing the responsibility for abolishing inequality on the former oppressor nation became one of the foundations of Socialist law; it was central to the Constitution of the new Socialist state. This obligation to erase inequalities has shaped the course of Socialist development. *Over the past fifty years construction of the vast area of the former czarist prison of nations has taken precedence over the Russian nation.*

As a result of this new phenomenon in the relationship of nations, the land and peoples of one-sixth of the earth's surface were transformed within the short space of fifty years. This historic accomplishment reflected not only the abolition of class exploitation. *It also expressed a conscious plan to abolish national inequalities and rapidly close the social, economic and political gap between the economically more developed Russian nation and*



*those nations whose progress was suppressed by capitalism and czarist imperialism.*

This revolutionary closing of the gap between a more advanced nation and economically less developed ones was made possible because Soviet policy from the start was totally different from that of the Maoists, who adopted a purely formal "equality" to camouflage Han supremacy over non-Han nationalities. In all Soviet plans, there was recognition of a definite historical stage during which Russian inequality, as explicitly demanded by Leninist principles, would prevail in the relations between all peoples of the Soviet Union.

The internationalist duty of the Russian working class, led by the Communist Party, was not viewed as a matter to be discharged with rhetoric about "equality," or by a single act or even a series of acts of material support to the formerly oppressed nations within the Soviet Union.

*Ending all traces of privilege of one nation over other nations was recognized as an obligation that could be fulfilled only within an historical period of Socialist construction geared to bringing the formerly oppressed peoples to a point of development overtaking and even surpassing the Russian nation.*

The evidence is now at hand that the Soviet Union has succeeded in abolishing all forms of inequality between peoples—one of the most inspiring chapters in human history.

### ***"Comparison in Status"***

Included in those areas on the Soviet side of the Sino-Soviet border—where inequality is a thing of the past—are the Central Asian Republics: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan. They cover an enormous region, almost 2,000 miles long and comprising over 1,500,000 square miles. The population is approximately 25,000,000 and bears about the same relationship to the total population of the U.S.S.R. as do Black people to the total U.S. population. Each of these five republics represents the

free national existence of a distinct, non-white Asian people in full control of its life and economy, and with its own thriving culture and language. As James E. Jackson has pointed out:

It is particularly instructive to contemplate the comparison in status between the Kazakhs, a formerly oppressed people of the U.S.S.R. and the Black American people of the United States. The Kazakhs would be classified as "Black" or "Negro" if they lived in the U.S.A., as distinguished from "white"-skinned Americans. ("A Mighty Union of Nations," by James E. Jackson. *Political Affairs*, December, 1972. Page 33.)

Jackson then goes on to say:

The people of Kazakhstan (being a full-fledged nation) exercise the right of political self-determination as a state, a free and equal member of the 15 Union Republics which comprise the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It has its own legislative, judiciary and executive branches of government, as well as its own economic, social and political institutions and administrative structures. It has a flourishing culture and its own language. While the 12 million plus Kazakh people exercise the commanding political power in their national territory and enjoy unchallengeable equality and access to everything everywhere in the entire U.S.S.R., such total political democracy and total enjoyment of civil rights is not the condition of 25 million Blacks in the USA. (Ibid.)

To illustrate how the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. have advanced "from last place to front runner," Jackson quotes from a recent article by the Soviet historian E. V. Tadevosyan:

To overcome the backwardness of many peoples inherited from the past, the Soviet state, in the process of socialist construction, took measures to insure that the economy and culture of the national regions develop faster than those of more advanced regions. Thus, while the industrial output of the USSR as a

whole increased 92 times on the average between 1913 and 1970, the increase in Kazakhstan and Moldavia was 146 times, in Armenia 184 times, in Kirghizia 188 times. In the standard of education the populations of these republics have either closely approached or even exceeded the average for the country. According to the 1970 all-Union census the number of employed people with a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education per 1,000 in 1970 was 653 in the country as a whole, and 654 in Kazakhstan, 663 in Uzbekistan, 682 in Turkmenia. While the number of college students of Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationality increased 26-28 times between the 1927-28 and 1968-69 academic years, the number of Turkmen students increased during the same period 212 times, of Kirghizian students, 220 times, of Tadjik students, more than 250 times, of Uzbek students, more than 280 times, of Kazakh students more than 310 times.

The accelerated development of the national regions made it possible for nations, which only a few decades ago had lagged behind for several historical epochs, to catch up and to enter socialism simultaneously with the other peoples of our country and share in the building of a developed, socialist society. (Ibid. Page 32.)

What Professor Tadevosyan has written about the results of Soviet policy in abolishing the inequality between Russian and non-Russian is confirmed by all sources whose accuracy has not been totally impaired by subjective motivation. For example, Charles K. Wilber, Associate Professor of Economics at American University, Washington, D.C.—who has made a study of Soviet Central Asia before and after the Socialist Revolution—writes:

The industrial development of Central Asia began with Soviet power. . . . In the whole of Uzbekistan before 1917, there were only 425 primitive workshops and factories. There was not a single textile mill, although the main crop was cotton. In 1913, Kirghizia had only a small number of handicraft shops with primitive machinery which employed fewer than 1,500

workers. (*The Soviet Model and Underdeveloped Countries*, by Charles K. Wilber. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. 1969. Pages 142-143. My emphasis—H.W.)

The experience of the population of the Fergana Valley—a vast area of the Central Asian Republics—has a special resemblance to the Black experience in the U.S. Serfdom was abolished in the Czarist empire in 1861, and some of the effects this had on the Fergana Valley are discussed by Professor Wilber:

The fertility of the Fergana valley and the successful introduction of American cotton in 1894 made cotton a key product of Central Asia. Although the economy changed rapidly from one that was self-sufficient in food products to a one-crop system (the area under cotton cultivation grew from 13,200 hectares in 1866 to 597,200 hectares in 1914), the *beck-dakkan* (lord-peasant) relationship remained. In fact, the relationship was strengthened because the independent peasantry rapidly lost most of their *land under the usurious terms of credit and became sharecroppers*, often retaining only one-fourth of the crop. (Ibid. Page 141)

Wilber makes no comparison between the former serfs of Central Asia and the former slaves of the U.S., who did not get even temporary possession of the land after the end of slavery. Instead, they were re-enslaved on the land of their former masters. However, he does report on the progress the former serfs and sharecroppers have made in the Central Asian Republics. In a chapter titled "Social Change and the Formation of Human Capital," he points out that Soviet "investment in physical assets is a key factor in economic development," in these areas, "but possibly as important, or more so, is investment in human capital." He then quotes the following from the United Nations *Economic Bulletin for Europe*:

The picture would remain incomplete without a discussion of the very impressive investments in the bodies and minds of men, that is in health and education. In these fields the standards in Central Asia have improved so strikingly in the period of Soviet rule that relevant comparison is no longer with neighboring Asian countries, but with the countries of Western Europe. (Ibid. Page 158)

In his report on the Central Asian Republics, Wilber covers the years from the founding of Soviet power to 1962. Even with the omission of the past decade, when the rate of advance was still greater, the progress of these formerly oppressed nations demonstrates the prospects that can open up for the oppressed peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America as they take the non-capitalist path of development within the world's revolutionary process, with the Socialist countries as its chief bulwark.

### ***Before and After the Revolution***

Before the Revolution, reports Professor Wilber, there were just over 137,000 students—only 1.1 per cent of the population—in the schools of what are now the five Central Asian Republics. By 1961-62, the number had climbed to 5,880,000—22.5 percent of the population.

In 1955-56, the number of students in secondary and higher education was 5.46 percent of the population, which even as early as seventeen years ago placed Soviet Central Asia sixth highest in educational rank in the world—and at a time when the U.S.S.R. as a whole placed twelfth. *Here we see in education—as in all other aspects of Soviet society—the dramatic extent to which the Russian former oppressor nation, led by its Leninist Communist Party, voluntarily subordinated Russian development to programs with the central aim of abolishing inequality.*

In 1955 there were fifty-three teachers per thousand students in primary schools in the Central Asian Republics,

forty-five in the U.S.S.R. as a whole, while France had twenty-seven per thousand, West Germany thirty-nine, and England and Wales thirty-three. "The data illustrate," Wilber notes, "that Soviet Central Asia had progressed to the point, in providing for the education of its people, where it is comparable to the more advanced countries." (Ibid. Page 161) While this was already true 18 years ago, progress since then had vastly accelerated throughout the Soviet Union, especially in the Central Asian Republics. And this was precisely the period when the educational crisis in the United States, with its intensification of racism and inequality, became a dominant aspect in the total crisis in opportunity not only in education but in all areas of life, especially for the non-whites.

Before the October Revolution, Central Asian women were among the most oppressed in the world. In a population with an illiteracy rate of over 90 percent, the illiteracy of women was virtually total. And even as late as a few years after the founding of the Central Asian Republics, the former landlords—who tried to incite revolts—often assassinated "emancipated" women and village teachers.

Despite such resistance, Wilber reports that by 1931-32, out of a total of 135,976 students in Tadzhikistan, 22,137 were women. By 1955-56, the percentage of females in primary, seven-year and secondary schools had risen to 42.3 in Tadzhikistan, over 43 percent in Uzbekistan, 48 in Kazakhstan and approximately 46 percent in Kirghizia and Turkmenistan. (Ibid. Page 161)

Going beyond the period covered by Wilber's figures, one learns that by 1971, 70,000 Uzbek women had a higher education, and 84,000 a specialized secondary education. Women now make up almost half the employed population of that republic, including almost 7,000 scientific workers, and 17,000 engineers and technicians. Over 140 women have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Republic; twenty-two Uzbek women are deputies to the U.S.S.R.'s Supreme Soviet; almost 35,000 have been elected

to the local Soviets of the Uzbek Republic. The Chairman of the Soviet House of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R., Yadgar Nasriddinova is a woman; before election to this post she served as President of the Uzbek Republic. (*The Nationalities Question: How It Was Solved in the USSR*. By A. Zevelev. Novosti Press Agency Publishing House. Moscow, 1972. Page 40)

The overall per capita outlay for health and education in Central Asia, Wilber reports, was 20 percent higher than for the USSR as a whole as far back as the Second Five-Year Plan (1932-37). (*The Soviet Model and Under-Developed Countries*. Page 164) Once again, statistics show that from the start, the Soviet Union's Leninist policies were transforming the relations between the Russian population and the non-Russian formerly oppressed peoples.

In addition to the statistics Wilber presents confirming the inspiring results of the Leninist solution of the national question on the Soviet side of the Sino-Soviet border, he also cites an opinion which, however unintentionally, makes the same point. The opinion comes from Warren Wilhelm, an anti-Soviet writer, who states in an article titled "Soviet Central Asia: Development of a Backward Area," that "The region was not 'Russianized' but it was pitilessly Sovietized . . ." (Ibid., Page 157)

In accepting this view uncritically, Wilber shares in its bourgeois bias—because its *class* implications are clear: the peoples of Central Asia refused to compromise with the past in their struggle for liberation from the heritage of "pitilessly" brutal oppression under czarism. In solidarity with the Russian working class and all other nations and nationalities of the old czarist empire, they won the right to self-determination, and went on to create a new life—Socialist in content, national in form.

However, Wilber once again returns to objectivity when—summing up conclusions based on a careful examination of his data—he writes:

. . . Central Asia has been transformed from a stagnant, illiterate, disease-ridden, semi-feudal society into a modern, dynamic progress-oriented society. (Ibid., Page 214.)

Wilber closes his examination of Soviet Central Asia by quoting from *House Without A Roof: Russia After Forty-Three Years*, by Maurice Hindus, who is not known as a friend of the Soviet Union:

Uzbekistan is an example of an underdeveloped Asian country which within a brief span of time—as time is reckoned in history—Moscow has lifted to an advanced stage of industrial development and technology. . . . The Asian, the African, the visitor from any underdeveloped country, who comes to Tashkent can only compare the miseries of his homeland with the achievements of Uzbekistan: the health of the people, the rising living standards, the upsurge of education, technology, industry and science.

. . . Uzbekistan is a non-Slavic Asian land, and at the beginning of the Soviet Revolution it was one of the most backward in Asia. This is what lends the Kremlin formula of development its global significance. (Ibid., Pages 214-215.)

What Hindus calls the "Kremlin formula" is actually the application of Marxist-Leninist principles of internationalism. This is what accounts for the basic difference between the status of formerly oppressed Asian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and those in China, where Maoist policies deny the right of self-determination to non-Hans, accentuating the heritage of inequality between Han and non-Han instead of overcoming it.

## THE "LEANING" THEORY OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Beneath the "Marxist-Leninist" camouflage, the roots of the "Thought of Mao" are embedded in Han racist nationalism—a fact revealed by Mao Tse-tung himself even in the year of victory for the Chinese Revolution. In 1949 he wrote:

The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and the twenty-eight years' experience of the Communist Party have taught us to *lean* to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must *lean* to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty-eight years, all Chinese without exception must *lean* either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, *nor is there a third road*. We oppose the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who *lean* to the side of imperialism, and *we oppose also the illusions about a third road*. (Quoted in *Essential Works of Chinese Communism*. Edited by Winberg Chai. Pica Press, New York. 1969. Page 258—My emphasis. H.W.)

Mao's choice of the word "lean" is indeed significant; the concept of "leaning" to one side is far removed from the Marxist-Leninist principle of *solidarity* with one side—anti-imperialism. This statement was a clear signal to the imperialist powers that the "Thought of Mao" retained deep nationalist reservations about unity with the world's working classes and national liberation movements—as well as the right of self-determination for the non-Han peoples within China.

In fact, not even Mao's reasons for "leaning" to the Soviet Union's side arose from principles of Socialist solidarity! Instead, he was motivated by bourgeois nationalist, opportunist expediency: China needed to "lean" on the Soviet Union's internationalism "in order to win victory and consolidate."

And so for a decade, the Maoists "free-loaded" on the massive material support of the Soviet peoples, extended at a time when they had not yet recovered from the vast human and material sacrifices involved in their decisive role in saving the world from Axis fascism—and simultaneously paving the way for the victory of the Chinese Revolution. After this decade of massive Soviet assistance, the Maoists concluded that China's economy had become sufficiently consolidated for them to strike out on a more openly bourgeois nationalist course. Carrying out this aim, always inherent in the "Thought of Mao," required an end to the policy of "leaning" to the Soviet side. This is the meaning of the Maoists' break with the Soviet Union and their decision to "lean" more and more to imperialism.

And this decision to "lean" to the imperialist side accounts for the "cultural revolution," which was in fact a ruthless, violent counter-revolution against the Han Chinese working class, the majority of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Han peoples—all of whom resisted Mao's chauvinist betrayal of Leninist principles.

It took the unleashing of tens of millions of youth, "schooling" by the mindless repetition of quotes from the

"Thought of Mao"—supported by the Chinese Army, whose peasant soldiers had been drilled in the same manner—to bring about the temporary destruction of the Communist Party. The Maoists' "revolutionary" facade cannot conceal the stark fact that the "cultural revolution" was a violent political, social and cultural retrogression from the highest expression of culture—Marxist-Leninist principles of class and national liberation.

### *"A Step toward Going Over to the Enemy"*

As the "Thought of Mao" became dominant in China, the Maoists began to attribute certain "revolutionary theories" to Mao—the same "theories" which Mao had in an earlier period, attributed to "Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries." On April 1, 1959, for instance, in Peking, before the "cultural revolution" succeeded in crushing all open opposition to Maoism, the newspaper *Red Flag* challenged the Maoists' growing anti-Sovietism:

Indeed, this will become a step toward going over to the enemy. The Chinese people are very familiar with such anti-Soviet, anti-Communist tunes. In his vilification of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek long ago tore to shreds such phrases as "Red imperialism" and "foreign agents". . . . (In 1927) Chiang Kai-shek plunged completely into the embrace of imperialism and literally became an agent of imperialism.

To conceal its "leaning" to the imperialist side, Maoism substitutes such phrases as "Soviet revisionism" and "social imperialism" for Chiang Kai-shek's "red imperialism." But this cannot hide the fact of its "going over to the enemy"—the implacable enemy of the liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Nor is this "leaning" to imperialism and neo-colonialism hidden by the illusions



Maoism spreads about a "third road"—the very same illusions Mao opposed in 1949.

Today "third road" illusions are even more harmful than in the past. Now the liberation movements everywhere—from South Africa to Indo-China to Chile—are directly confronting the reality of a struggle in which there is no "third road." The *only* alternative to solidarity with the Socialist countries, and first of all the Soviet Union, against the economic, political and military intervention of imperialism is *surrender* of the right to national existence and liberation.

In this connection Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., writes:

Now that there is a world revolutionary process and a world revolutionary force, policies of disunity take on added significance. The Maoist policy of driving wedges into the ranks of the socialist countries and the movements for national liberation, the efforts at disrupting the unity within the world Communist movement is a historic service to world imperialism.

What is the tactic of *imperialism* in the context of today's world? It is to disrupt the unity between the socialist countries and the national liberation movements and in the first place to isolate them from the Soviet Union.

The socialist states and the growing unity between them and the national liberation movements is the main roadblock to imperialism. It is an unalterable fact that U.S. imperialism can succeed in its aggression in Asia, Africa and South America only to the extent that it can create divisions between the forces of national liberation and the socialist countries." (*Imperialism Today*, by Gus Hall. International Publishers. New York, 1972. Page 254. Emphasis in the original.)

This is why the Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world reject Maoism's illusory "third" way, and resolutely adhere to the basic Leninist principles of self-determination and peaceful co-existence as central to the

fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism. These twin principles were the core of the strategy leading to the October Revolution, and to Socialism's consolidation within forms guaranteeing the free national existence of the many peoples liberated from czarist imperialism.

Lenin saw that in the new era the bourgeoisie, which had led the national movements against feudalism, had become the enemy of the sovereign existence of the peoples who had failed to win their national independence during the pre-monopoly, pre-imperialist stage of capitalism. Leninist strategy recognized that the cause of proletarian revolution and Socialism had merged with and become the foundation for the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

The consolidation of Socialism and the irrevocable right of self-determination in the USSR has led to the forging of a commonwealth of Socialist nations creating a profound transformation in the economic, political and social map of the world. Monopoly capital now finds itself confronted not only by "Socialism in one country" but by a world Socialist camp.

The new world system, headed by the Soviet Union, has transformed the anti-imperialist process. The fusion of the Socialist revolution and the national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America represents an historic new level in which the worldwide prospect for liberation and social advance is vastly enhanced.

The Socialist camp recognizes that the "third world" peoples need support not only in their struggles for the right of self-determination, but also in shaping a course leading to a breakaway from the capitalist system. To overcome the heritage of underdevelopment, the "third world" countries require the right to freely develop economic relations first of all, even if not exclusively, with the socialist countries; freedom from economic blockades, an end to neo-colonialist political, economic and military pressures in every form. That is why the struggle for the right to self-determination in its very nature becomes at the same time a struggle for peaceful co-existence.

The fight for economic independence can only be hobbled by "Marshall Plans" and similar types of neo-colonialist "aid." On the contrary, an end must be put to the non-equivalent economic relations which exist today between the newly independent countries and the markets still under imperialist control. The existence of a world Socialist system is the touchstone for ending the long years of economic plunder of "third world" peoples.

It is especially around these issues that Maoism employs "revolutionary" rhetoric to conceal its betrayal of the kind of truly revolutionary strategy that could effectively support the right of self-determination for the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

### *Distortion of the Peaceful Co-existence Concept*

In 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a statement titled, "A Proposal Concerning The General Line of the International Communist Movement." One of its central aspects was Maoist opposition to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary struggle for peaceful co-existence and its inter-connection with the fight for national liberation:

Peaceful coexistence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems and must not be interpreted as one pleases. It should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes, and never be described as the main content of the transition from capitalism to socialism, still less should it be asserted that peaceful coexistence is mankind's road to socialism. ("A Proposal Concerning The General Line of the International Communist Movement." Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1963. Page 34.)

Through skillful word manipulation, Mao presents a false version of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. The

world Communist and Workers' Parties do not say that "peaceful coexistence" is "mankind's road to Socialism." Instead, they assert that the *struggle* for peaceful coexistence is central to the strategy for *building* the road on which the fight for national liberation and socialism can advance.

By obscuring the difference between the "road to socialism" and the strategy to *build* that road, the Maoists try to conceal the fact that their "theory" of "peaceful coexistence" is actually a betrayal of the right of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to determine their own futures free from the interventions and aggressions of imperialism.

Clearly, the Maoists today actively "lean" to the side of imperialism. How else can one interpret their chauvinist indifference to the fate of the fighters for liberation against Portuguese and South African racist imperialism, and to the existence of the newly independent African nations? Does this not also explain Maoist betrayal of unity with the USSR in support of the Vietnamese people's fight for self-determination and peaceful coexistence?

Maoism denies the inter-relationship between the right to self-determination and peaceful coexistence. While reserving the right to peaceful coexistence for the People's Republic of China, the Maoists claim it "should never be extended" to "the oppressed," that is, the "third world" peoples.

But the Communist and Workers Parties on every continent assert that the principle of peaceful coexistence applies not only to Socialist countries, but is of the greatest urgency for the "third world" nations preyed upon, as they are, economically and militarily by imperialism. They emphasize that the right to peaceful coexistence has *merged* with, indeed has become an integral part of the right to self-determination. The Socialist countries and the world's Communist and Workers' Parties single out commitment to these *twin* rights as the test of loyalty to class and national liberation.

When the Maoists state that the principle of peaceful coexistence "should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations," they are simply projecting their own great power chauvinist denial of the right of self-determination for the non-Han peoples in China to the international arena. But it is precisely in the relations between the oppressor and oppressed nations that the struggle for peaceful coexistence has become inextricably bound up with the right of self-determination—whether in Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau, Chile or Cuba.

By also stating that peaceful coexistence does not apply to relations "between oppressed and oppressor classes," the Maoists again attempt to conceal their betrayal of the Leninist strategy of peaceful coexistence. Far from implying "peaceful coexistence" between oppressed classes and their capitalist oppressors, this strategy is based on the recognition that the struggle for self-determination and peaceful coexistence in Africa and elsewhere can be advanced only through higher and still higher levels of class struggle.

### *"Whatever May Be the Road"*

An international meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1969 declared:

The defense of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states of different social systems. (International Meeting of Communist And Workers' Parties. Peace and Socialism Publishers. Prague. 1969. Page 31.)

Countering the Maoist distortion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, these parties asserted that this policy must be an integral part of the strategy of all anti-imperialist forces in support of the rights of every people. Peaceful coexistence, the Parties went on to say,

... demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries. This policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defense against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tensions and creating hotbeds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the social-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world-wide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system, and for the establishment of socialist power, *whatever may be the road leading to this goal*, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence.

As this statement emphasizes—and contrary to the “Thought of Mao”—the Leninist strategy of peaceful coexistence keeps the anti-imperialist forces on the offensive. At the same time, the statement brings out the new dimension in this strategy. The solidarity of the Socialist countries with the world forces of class and national liberation has fused—and profoundly enlarged the scope of—the struggles for liberation, the right of self-determination and peaceful coexistence.

It was in recognition of its role in helping fuse the struggle for peaceful coexistence with the African liberation struggles, that Amílcar Cabral hailed the Socialist camp as “the historical associates of the liberation movements.” One of Cabral’s last interviews before his assassination took place in Chile, in December, 1972. “In relation to help that we receive,” he stated at that time, “we have had help from the socialist countries from the beginning. . . . It is necessary to point out that the Socialist country that has helped us the most has always been the USSR.” (Reprinted in *Muhammad Speaks*, February 9, 1973.)

Thus, Cabral reveals in its very essence why Maoist denial of the principles of peaceful coexistence to “third world” countries is nothing less than a betrayal of the right of self-determination. It is axiomatic that the newly independent African countries and those still fighting for liberation can take a path leading to Socialism only if, in the struggle for the right to self-determination and peaceful coexistence, they are allowed to choose an economic system outside the orbit of imperialism. If the right to peaceful coexistence is limited to relations between socialist and capitalist countries, as Maoism would have it, then this concept is robbed of its revolutionary relationship to national liberation. Maoism violates the inseparability of the struggle for the right to peaceful coexistence and the right to self-determination—which is the revolutionary essence of this Marxist-Leninist strategy.

### ***“Can No Longer Impose Will” without U.S. Support***

Both the similarities and differences shown by Henry A. Kissinger and Mao Tse-tung in their methods of attack on the Leninist strategy of peaceful coexistence and the right to self-determination are revealing.

Kissinger began his rise to eminence as a spokesman for U.S. imperialism—serving three successive Administrations—with the publication in 1957 of his *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*. (Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper Brothers. New York.) In this book, he warned the monopoly ruling class that its hope for survival lay in combating the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, which the author recognized as a revolutionary offensive tactic and an integral part of Communist strategy against imperialism’s positions in underdeveloped areas. Kissinger wrote:

For none of our allies, not even Great Britain, can be considered major powers any longer . . . It goes without saying that none of our allies is capable of conducting a war against the USSR without our assistance. But the change in the position of the European powers goes even further. Since they are unable to deter all-out war themselves, they cannot even conduct limited war against smaller powers except under our protection. . . . Whatever the remaining margin of superiority of the European powers over the underdeveloped part of the world—and in some respects it is larger than in the heyday of colonial rule—they can no longer impose their will if the United States does not provide the shield of its retaliatory support. (Ibid. Page 251. My emphasis—H.W.)

After his admission that U.S. imperialism is the bulwark of imperialism and neo-colonialism throughout the world, Kissinger goes on to say:

Because disciplined Communists see everything in relation to the class struggle, the concepts of war and peace, seemingly so unambiguous, have been turned into tools of Soviet political

warfare. If wars are caused by the class struggle, and if the class struggle reveals the determining role of an exploiting class, all wars by non-Communist powers are unjust by definition. (Ibid. Page 329.)

This comment appears in a chapter titled "The Strategy of Ambiguity," a description Kissinger applies to the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence but which in reality is an accurate picture of the methods used by the enemies of Leninism—from Kissinger to Mao.

By confusing the distinction between just and unjust wars, Kissinger attempts to hide the identity of the monopolists as the source of unjust war—and to cover up the fact that the potential for blocking or defeating unjust wars lies in struggles of the working class—particularly in countries where it has come to state power—together with all the anti-imperialist forces. Furthermore, in this ambiguous statement, Kissinger implies that wars involving the existence of a Socialist country are the only ones Communists consider just.

However, Kissinger himself refutes this point in the course of warning the imperialists that the Communist policy of peaceful coexistence and aid to liberation struggles is the prime threat to their privileges and positions:

Leninist theory counsels keeping the provocation below the level that might produce a final showdown. Peaceful coexistence would thereby become the most efficient offensive tactic, the best means to subvert the existing order. (Ibid. Page 350.)

It is clear that what Kissinger termed "provocation" was merely anticipation of the support the imperialists knew the Soviet Union would give to all national liberation struggles—to the Vietnamese people, the Cuban revolution, the freedom fighters in Africa. The policy of peaceful coexistence is an unambiguous one, vital to national liberation movements in their just struggles to "subvert" the racist, neo-colonial "existing order."

While the phrase "strategy of ambiguity" has no relationship to the forthright strategy of the world's Communist and Workers' Parties, it is an apt description of U.S. imperialism's policies and those of the Maoists who "lean" more and more to the side of imperialism, betraying the principles of national liberation with "super-revolutionary" opposition to "Soviet revisionism."

However, when it comes to advising his imperialist masters, Kissinger momentarily sets ambiguity aside and comes straight to the point: "What is permanent in Soviet theory," he warns, "is the insistence upon the *continuing struggle*, not the form it takes at any given moment." (Ibid. Page 350. My emphasis—H.W.) This is indeed the heart of the Leninist principles—a permanent strategy of struggle to advance the policy of peaceful coexistence, "the most efficient offensive tactic" of the national and international class struggles, merging with the struggles for the right to self-determination everywhere.

### "Policy of Self-Reliance"?

In their aim of isolating national liberation movements and newly independent countries from their natural allies, and especially from the Socialist camp, the Maoists resort to one of their crudest falsifications.

In line with their great power anti-Soviet aims, they assure African and other "third world" countries that the Chinese Revolution took place without the support of the Soviet Union or unity with the world anti-imperialist forces. Against a background of such falsification, the Maoists advise the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, that:

The Chinese people have adhered to the *policy of self-reliance both in revolution and in construction*. It is a policy of key importance . . . Relying mainly on their own efforts, they have rapidly restored the rundown war-ravaged economy left by the reac-



tionary Kuomintang regime. . . . (*Peking Review*, June 18, 1965. My emphasis—H.W.)

In carrying out their aim of isolating the underdeveloped countries from the Soviet Union, the Maoists try to camouflage the continued dependence on neo-colonialism which would be the fate of these nations, by adding:

There is also the need for the underdeveloped countries to develop trade among themselves and with the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial countries on the basis of mutual benefit. This will help to alter step by step the present state of affairs in which over 70 percent of their trade is conducted with imperialist powers. (*Ibid.*)

One cannot help noting the glaring contradiction between the Maoists' advice to the "third world" countries and their own policies. After giving this advice to the underdeveloped nations, the Maoists, ironically, altered "step by step" their trade policies—so that by 1972 70 percent of China's trade was with the imperialist countries! Such a qualitative shift in economic exchange from the Socialist to the imperialist camp—even if unaccompanied by the anti-Soviet disruption of the united front against imperialism in which the Maoists specialize—would undermine a country's capacity to resist neo-colonialist pressures.

The Maoists advise the underdeveloped countries to trade "with the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial countries"—a Maoist category which does not include the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union (identified as a "white imperialist superpower"). In view of this Maoist exclusion of the Socialist nations, where would the newly independent countries go to develop trade "on the basis of equality and mutual benefit"?

China's own status cannot of course be equated with that of the "third world" countries in Africa and elsewhere. The massive aid from the Soviet Union helped establish China's

industrial foundation. China's size, level of development, and power put it in a substantially different relationship to world imperialism from that of the smaller, underdeveloped countries. *By depicting China's position as similar to the African countries the Maoists reveal their great power chauvinism.*

Behind "revolutionary" declarations to the "third world" countries, the Maoists try to conceal the fact that their own policies parallel and actually reinforce imperialist strategy on a global scale. If accepted by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, these policies would—in the name of "self-reliance"—undermine even the semblance of independence from neo-colonial domination.

The Maoists "concept" of "self-reliance" for underdeveloped countries is one which they reject for China! No state can develop its potential as an entity in itself. Without the right to peaceful coexistence and the right to trade on the basis of equality, the newly independent nations cannot escape the domination of international capital.

The Maoist "theory" of "self-reliance" contradicts Marxist-Leninist principles of self-reliance, which affirm the dialectical inter-relationship between self-reliance and proletarian internationalism, that is, between the national liberation movements and the Socialist camp as the bulwark of anti-imperialism. It is through the struggle, the self-action of each national liberation component within the total world revolutionary process that the aim of independence is realized. To maintain independence, to continue social and economic advance, requires ever increasing unity with the Socialist, anti-imperialist camp. Without such unity, there is no prospect of "self-reliance"—only self-defeat and continued submission to neo-colonialism.

### *The Logic of Maoist "Self-Reliance"*

The logic of Maoist "self-reliance" can be seen in the status of such a country as Lesotho which—in anti-Comm-



nist isolation from the anti-imperialist forces of Africa and the world—pursues both the political and trade policies advocated by Maoism.

China, a big and powerful country, may momentarily escape the full consequences of "leaning" on imperialism—that is, complete loss of independence. But in following the Maoist "leaning" strategy, small and underdeveloped countries like Lesotho become incorporated into the economic, political and military domination of U.S. backed Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African imperialism.

Significantly, some of the same forces who organized the anti-Communist, neo-Pan-African split-off (the Pan African Congress), from the African National Congress of South Africa also played a key role in turning the economy of Lesotho and other African countries toward submission to neo-colonialism. Along with Maoism, neo-Pan-African ideology has aided the policies of reaction, and countries such as Lesotho have—like China—split the unity against apartheid imperialism on the African continent.

The policies of Lesotho and a few other African countries have led to their partnership with the racist rulers of southern Africa. In this they reflect the example of Maoism. Following their open break with the Socialist camp in the early sixties, the Maoists began to "lean" more and more openly to the imperialist side—actively promoting, for example, trade policies with imperialist countries, such as fascist Portugal and the fascist Republic of South Africa. Even before the "cultural revolution" brought about the full ascendancy of their policies, the Maoists were expanding trade with Portugal. In order to develop this flourishing trade even further at a time when the freedom fighters of Portuguese-occupied Africa and anti-imperialists everywhere were calling for economic sanctions against Portugal, the Maoists tolerated continued Portuguese occupation of Macao. Since Macao was a convenient area for conducting trade with Portugal, the Maoists sacrificed both the interests of the African liberation struggles and their own people, who con-

tinue to live under Portuguese rule. For the same reasons that they have cooperated with Portuguese occupation of Macao, the Maoists also tolerate—without ever having lodged so much as a formal protest—British occupation of Hong Kong.

A full decade before the Maoists falsely proclaimed their trade policies with the U.S. as an expression of "peaceful coexistence," their most important trading partners had become South Africa and West Germany. This shift occurred at the time when armed struggles, led by the African National Congress of South Africa against the apartheid regime in South Africa had already begun. While supporting neo-Pan African disruption of unity with the African National Congress of South Africa, Maoism continued to expand its trade with South Africa. And Maoist trade policies with Portugal and South Africa took this "great leap forward" at the time the world anti-imperialist forces were calling for unity behind the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe.

Now the leaders of the guerilla struggles in Africa demand that China stop defying the UN resolutions calling for sanctions against the Republic of South Africa—which would speed the end of white imperialist rule in all of southern Africa. And against the Maoists' betrayal, the fighters against Portuguese and South African imperialism are calling upon the world anti-imperialist forces to support liberation of the people of Macao from Portuguese rule. This would not only end Portuguese oppression of that island, it would also strike a significant blow against Portuguese imperialism's economic position.

African freedom fighters are also exposing the Maoists' "super-revolutionary" stance in other ways. They bitterly contrast Maoist toleration of the Portuguese occupation of Macao with India's action of more than a decade ago—when it compelled Portugal to end its 400-year occupation of Goa. The heroic leaders of the armed struggles against Portuguese imperialism in Africa are sharply aware that China is in a

much stronger position to oust Portugal from its territory today than India was then. Moreover, the situation of Portuguese imperialism is much weaker today—when it exists only through U.S. financial and military support—than it was when India unceremoniously repossessed its Goan territory. And African freedom fighters also realize that if China were to oust Portuguese imperialism from Macao, the U.S. could not come to its support in that area of the globe. Yet China continues to cooperate with the Portuguese occupation of Macao, while it escalates its trade with Portugal and South Africa. The new facet in this picture is the Maoists' expanding trade with the U.S.—carried on under policies that distort the meaning of peaceful coexistence.

### *Strategy of Genuine Self-Reliance*

The Chinese people's Socialist gains are being seriously weakened, perhaps even jeopardized, by the Maoist great power aims—which have already isolated China from the Socialist camp and are now betraying the African liberation movements.

The Maoists seek to obscure the realistic alternative to their "theories" of a "third way" and "self-reliance" apart from international anti-imperialist unity for the newly independent countries. The alternative to these twin concepts of accommodation to imperialism lies in the Leninist strategy of the inter-related struggles for the rights of peaceful coexistence and national self-determination—the basis for the underdeveloped countries to escape neo-colonial control and take the direction of their economies into their own hands. This united, anti-imperialist strategy creates the context in which the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America can emerge on the world stage in a genuinely self-reliant, genuinely independent way—with strengthened positions based on equal and expanding economic relations with the Soviet Union and the whole Socialist system.

From these new positions of independence, the "third world" nations can develop economic relations with capitalist countries based on respect for their terms of trade and their sovereignty. But this perspective can be realized only through continuous, united struggle for the right to self-determination and peaceful coexistence.

### *"Victory for Socialist Countries, Oppressed Peoples"*

On the day that Le Duc Tho announced the agreement to end the war, he spoke of the Vietnamese people's fight for peace and self-determination, which now takes on new forms, and demands still greater world anti-imperialist unity. Le Duc Tho declared that:

. . . the conclusion of such an agreement represents a great victory for the Vietnamese people. . . . It is a great victory for the Socialist countries, the oppressed peoples and all the peace-loving and justice-loving peoples throughout the world, including the American people, who have demonstrated their solidarity and given devoted assistance to the just struggle of our people. (*The New York Times*, January 25, 1973)

Le Duc Tho then stated:

With the return of peace, the struggle of the Vietnamese people enters a new period. . . . It will also have to rebuild its war-devastated country and consolidate and develop friendly relations with all the peoples of the world, including the American people. . . . We have the conviction that the dark designs of the reactionary forces in the country and abroad to obstruct the application of the agreement and to sabotage it can only fail. (*Ibid.*)

Le Duc Tho's words express the unsurpassed self-reliance of the Vietnamese people, who have carried on their long battle in solidarity with the Socialist camp, the working

classes, and all peoples fighting imperialist oppression. Le Duc Tho's convictions are in direct opposition to Maoism, which promotes disunity instead of solidarity. Above all, Le Duc Tho's message—which applies to Africa as well as Vietnam—asserts that imperialism can be defeated through adherence to the Leninist principles of international solidarity, based on an offensive strategy of struggle for the right to national liberation and peaceful coexistence.

## 10

### **THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" AND U.S. ESCALATION IN VIETNAM**

In November, 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson won the Presidential election with a landslide mandate to end U.S. intervention in Vietnam. However, several months before the election—and in the period between his election and inauguration—Johnson was already laying plans for escalating the war in Vietnam.

More than two years before the Gulf of Tonkin provocation of August, 1964—which Johnson instigated to "justify" his massive post-election escalation—the USSR was pressing for Soviet-Chinese unity to stop U.S. aggression in Indo-China. At that time, Mao Tse-tung had not yet defeated the opposition to his anti-Soviet policies within the leadership of the Communist Party of China. But he was already able to exert enough influence and power to compel rejection of every Soviet initiative—to spurn every call for Socialist, anti-imperialist unity against the escalating U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the expanding U.S. penetration in Africa.

By 1965, the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Communist Party of China had become aroused by the struggle within the leadership and opposed Mao's brutal rejection of international solidarity. As the U.S. pressed ahead with its escalation of the war in Vietnam in 1965, the struggle mounted within the Communist Party of China to defeat Mao's opposition to Sino-Soviet unity as the foundation for mobilizing worldwide support of the Vietnamese people. It was at this point that Mao took new steps to crush all opposition to his policies.

As a prelude to the "cultural" counter-revolution, he began elimination of key Party, army, trade union and government figures who resisted the blocking of Sino-Soviet unity. This was followed by the "cultural revolution" itself, whose purpose was not only to complete elimination of opposition to Maoism in the leadership, but to smash all rank and file resistance—involving millions of people—in the Communist Party and trade unions.

Beginning with the removal of leaders of the People's Liberation Army who supported joint action with the Soviet Union, Mao stepped up his plans to transform the army into an instrument of great power chauvinism. The next stage was the massive army-supported "Red Guard" assaults directly on the Communist Party and the trade unions.

It is only against this background of suppression of those who tried to restore anti-imperialist unity that one can explain the arrogant self-assurance with which three successive U.S. Administrations continued escalating the war—defying the great U.S. peace movement which reflected majority sentiment, and world-wide opposition. And from the very start of the war, U.S. imperialism was encouraged to keep on escalating its level of aggression because Maoism was escalating its level of violence against those in China who demanded a united strategy with the Soviet Union and the world peace forces. This ferocious assault against the opponents of Maoism in the Communist Party, the army, the trade unions and all other people's organizations paralleled the increasing U.S. aggression at every stage.

In fact, the rising violence against opponents of Maoist betrayal actually appeared to be *synchronized* with the successive escalations of U.S. genocide against the heroic Vietnamese. In 1968, for example, the Nixon escalation coincided with the Maoist escalation of violence against the resistance of all segments of the Chinese people and the oppressed non-Han minorities suffering under great power chauvinism—violence culminating in the "cultural revolution" that all but destroyed the Communist Party and the trade unions and fundamentally changed the character of the army. The record of Maoist betrayal of anti-imperialist unity is as long as the record of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Pointing up this reality, James Chieh Hsiung, Associate Professor of Politics at New York University and Chairman of its Washington Square College East Asian Program Studies, reports:

The U.S. decision in 1965 to raise the level of hostilities had a number of repercussions. Soon afterward, the Soviet Union approached Peking for permission to ship military hardware to North Vietnam across Chinese territory, both by air and by rail. It even requested airport facilities in South China for staging flights into Vietnam. . . . The new request added fuel to the continuing controversy within China about relations with the U.S.S.R. Although the precise lineup on the airport issue is not clear, Lo Jui-Ch'ng, Chief of Staff of the PLA, is generally thought to have supported a more positive Chinese intervention in the Vietnam war and, hence, closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. Despite the esoteric language of his article "Commemorate the Victory over German fascism," he appeared to compare those opposing cooperation with the USSR in a more active intervention in the war to Daladier and Chamberlain who had appeased Hitler at Munich. (*Ideology and Practice, The Evolution of Chinese Communism*, by James Chieh Hsiung, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970. Pages 260-261.)

And Richard C. Thornton, Member of the Institute for Sino-Soviet Relations and Assistant Professor of History, George Washington University, relates that:

. . . in February, 1965, Kosygin visited Hanoi and Peking. He failed to negotiate a reconciliation with the Chinese . . . The offer of reconciliation had a galvanizing effect on the Peking leadership, touching off an extremely critical debate over China's role in Vietnam. . . . (*China and the Communist World*, by Richard C. Thornton. Appearing in *Communist China, 1946-1969*. Edited by Frank N. Trager and William Henderson. Published for the American Asian Educational Exchange by the New York University Press, 1970. Page 274.)

Thornton then stated:

Although several leaders were involved in the debate, the principals were the Minister of Defense, Lin Pao, who represented the Mao group, and Chief of Staff Lo Jui-Ch'ing . . . In early May, Lo gave a speech in which he advanced a strong argument for reconciliation with the Soviet Union in order to afford the most effective aid to a fraternal ally, the Democratic Republic of North Viet-Nam . . . Lin Pao, on the other hand, took the Maoist line of independent action. . . .

In this debate, which lasted several months, the Mao group emerged victorious. Their victory and the rejection of Soviet offers for joint effort in Viet-Nam was signalled in November. Lo Jui-Ch'ing was removed from his position as Chief of Staff at this time, decisively altering the balance between the contending groups. By Spring, 1966, the Mao group had taken the offensive, and was in a position to administer the *coup de grace* at the eleventh Plenum in August 1966. . . . It was a victory in that Mao obtained sufficient voting strength to carry out his policies in the Politburo, to keep China on the course of independent action, and to begin the process of extending his Politburo victory to the country as a whole. It was a setback in the sense that he was unable to achieve his objectives without recourse to violent, even armed, conflict—the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. (Ibid. Pages 274-275.)

In his exposure of the "cultural revolution" as a violent suppression of the vast movement in China for unity with

the USSR, Professor Thornton comes as close to frankness as a bourgeois historian dares in a period when U.S. imperialism has converted the universities into ideological and military research centers for its offensive against the freedom struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and against the unity of the Socialist countries—the key to world anti-imperialist solidarity.

Thornton is, however, neither frank nor accurate when he describes the Maoist victory as resulting in a "course of independent action," when in fact it was but another stage of Maoist "leaning" to the side of imperialism—another step in the Maoist isolation of China from the world revolutionary movement.

Thornton is not alone in the academic world in writing about Maoism with at least an occasional gleam of accuracy. Another such writer, J. W. Strong, states:

The cultural Revolution established The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung as the guiding philosophy for China's future, and Maoism has almost completely submerged the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. (*The Communist States In Disarray*. Edited by A. Bromke and T. R. Harmstore, University of Minnesota, 1972. Page 32.)

Both Strong's and Thornton's observations concerning the real nature and purposes of the "cultural revolution" are in sharp contradiction to the "revolutionary" image of Maoism promoted by the mass media and pseudo-radicals. In contrast to its "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric, the "cultural revolution" was an attempt to accomplish through violence what "The Thought of Mao" had not succeeded in doing—eliminating the application of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in China. However, despite what Thornton calls the Maoists' "coup de grace," and the ensuing "cultural revolution," the struggle within China to restore the principles of internationalism has not ended—and will not end.

### *"Complicity with the Aggressor"*

The Maoist betrayal of anti-imperialist unity, so crucial in prolonging the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people, was accompanied by a closely related Maoist policy aimed at expanding the war to global proportions. One of the variety of pseudo-radicals involved with the Maoists in furthering this aim was Eldridge Cleaver.

At the time that the Soviet Union and the world peace forces were demanding an end to the war, Cleaver was urging its expansion into nuclear war. During a stopover in Moscow—en route to a Conference of Journalists in the Democratic Republic of Korea—Cleaver castigated the Soviet Union for "not using its nuclear arsenal to stop the killing of Asians and Africans." While Cleaver's statement is reminiscent of the racist U.S. Army Captain in Vietnam who, pointing to a heap of burning ruins, told a news correspondent, "We had to destroy the village to save it," there is one difference. Cleaver's policy had greater dimension—he was ready to destroy the *world* to "save it."

Cleaver's views are not unlike those of other anti-Soviet "radicals," including K. S. Karol, a notorious French Trotskyite writer and apologist for Maoism. In 1967, Karol stated:

... many well-meaning people thought that a solution to the Vietnamese war would be found within the framework of coexistence because the pressure of the USSR, of the pro-Soviet peace movements, and those of the emerging countries would be sufficient to make America withdraw. But it was a vain hope, quickly dashed by the arrogance of American power. . . . Now it is plain that polite and moderate pressure cannot prevent the growth of escalation and it is difficult to see how it can be stopped in the future. The absence of any decisive anti-American action on the Soviet Union's part amounts, in the Chinese view, to complicity with the aggressor, therefore to treason. (*China, The Other Communism*. By K. S. Karol. Hill and Wang, New York, 1967. Page 325.)

In his book—written after several months spent in China interviewing key Maoist leaders—Karol inadvertently confirms that Maoist policies were the real reason for the "arrogance" of U.S. imperialism in prolonging and escalating its aggression in Vietnam. Years before Karol's book appeared, U.S. imperialists were well aware of Maoism's oft-expressed opposition to the policy of peaceful coexistence for "emerging countries." And by rejecting joint action with the Soviet Union in the early sixties, the Maoists assured U.S. imperialism that their super-revolutionary rhetoric would be accompanied by only the most "polite and moderate pressure" to "prevent the growth of escalation," that it need not worry about united Sino-Soviet support to the Vietnamese people. The Maoists made good on that assurance by creating almost insuperable obstacles to prevent the Soviet Union from even maintaining its line of supplies to the Vietnamese: 3,000 miles of Maoist-dominated China, with 800,000,000 people under a constant barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda, standing between the USSR and Vietnam.

Karol's peculiar apology for Maoism is in itself proof of Maoist "complicity with the aggressor." Karol's position is revealing on still another score. When he states that in the Chinese view the USSR was guilty of "treason" because it had not taken "any decisive anti-American action," he is simply saying that the only "support" the Maoists favored for Vietnam was Soviet nuclear action against the U.S.

That Mao's aim was not to end the war but to expand it into a nuclear confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is also confirmed by Karol when—still reflecting Maoist views—he wrote:

Taking up the American challenge, despite the desperate risks, offers the only possible chance of provoking a deep crisis within the American camp from which the workers' movement has everything to gain. China is the only country to have made such



a choice. The Soviet Union and the international Communist movement reject it. But this difference of attitude is not a product of chance; it simply confirms that the Chinese revolution is another communism, a communism which differs more and more from that of the Soviet bloc. (Ibid. Page 326.)

One can certainly agree that the differences between the international Communist movement and Maoism are "not a product of chance." It is the difference between loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles and Maoist repudiation of those principles. Maoism is not "another communism." It is betrayal, not only of the Vietnamese people but of the entire human race—the Maoists advocated "desperate risks" for humanity while subverting the very policies that eventually brought victory to Vietnam, a victory that would have come much earlier but for Maoist treason to anti-imperialist unity.

### ***"We Do Not Believe in Peaceful Coexistence"***

At the International Conference of Journalists in 1969, Eldridge Cleaver declared that, "We do not believe in peaceful coexistence . . . it is necessary to hunt the monster down, drive it into a corner and annihilate it." (*Black Panther*, October 25, 1969)

Like the Trotskyite Karol and the Maoists, it is Cleaver's defeatist contention that the struggles in the U.S. against the monopolist oppressors, supported by the world Socialist, working class and liberation movements, cannot bring victory over U.S. imperialism. Instead, the Soviet Union must "hunt the monster down"—with nuclear weapons!

Defining his reasons for opposing peaceful coexistence, Cleaver went on to say, "The white supremacist imperialists in Washington do not believe in peaceful coexistence. Peace to them is only an interlude during which to prepare for war." (Ibid.)

Strange logic indeed that would have us fight for what the imperialists believe in—not what *we* believe in!

Of course the imperialists "do not believe in peaceful coexistence" since they will never voluntarily relinquish their economic, political or military domination of "third world" countries. Like the Maoists, Cleaver is utterly blind to the relationship between the fight for the right of African, Asian and Latin American peoples to self-determination and the fight for peaceful coexistence.

Cleaver's dismissal of peaceful coexistence as "only an interlude during which the imperialists prepare for war" is the kind of "radical" thinking that appears time and again in the course of the peoples' struggles—and it appears particularly when it is needed by the class enemy as a diversion at crucial moments of the struggle. It is ideologically related to the Trotskyites' vehement opposition to the Vietnamese signing of the agreement to end the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Revolutionaries do not reject the winning of a peaceful "interlude" in Vietnam! Instead, they are fighting to raise the level of anti-imperialist struggle and solidarity with the Vietnamese people so that the "interlude" should not be brought to a brutal end by imperialist intervention—but will instead be transformed into an historic era of peace, self-determination and Socialist construction.

It is, in fact, during these "interludes" which Cleaver considers so irrelevant that the struggle for class and national liberation has made truly historic advances. The October Revolution ended imperialism on one-sixth of the globe, and through Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence won an "interlude" during which the foundation was built for bringing a permanent end to class exploitation and national oppression.

How much greater the advance toward liberation in Africa would have been had Patrice Lumumba gained an "interlude" of peaceful coexistence, of non-intervention by the imperialist powers! And what if Nkrumah had won a longer "interlude" to consolidate Ghana's progress toward Socialism?

It was during one of these "interludes," so arrogantly dismissed by Cleaver, that Cuba—supported by the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence—defeated U.S. intervention at the Bay of Pigs. Since then the struggle in support of Cuba's right to self-determination and peaceful coexistence has created and successfully consolidated the basis for it to *coexist* despite the pressures of the U.S. economic blockade. During this "interlude," Cuba's strides toward Socialism have placed it in the vanguard of anti-imperialism and liberation in all of Latin America.

It is in the interests of the liberation struggles on every continent to intensify the fight to end the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba. Cuba will then not merely *coexist* 90 miles from the U.S., but U.S. imperialism will be forced to recognize Cuba's right to the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual trade. This would do more than prolong the "interlude" Cuba has gained since the Bay of Pigs—it would give impetus to all the Latin American countries in their fight to oust Yankee imperialism.

The "interludes" Cleaver and other "radicals" are so quick to dismiss are in reality milestones on the path toward liberation. This is the revolutionary significance of the interconnection between struggles for national liberation and peaceful coexistence.

## 11

### **SOUTH AFRICA: NEO-PAN-AFRICANISM AND MAOISM**

In September, 1965, Lin Piao wrote an article which set forth Mao's "theory" of "self-reliance" and simultaneously declared China's limited support to the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression. Commenting on this article—ironically titled "Long Live The Victory of People's War"—James Chieh Hsiung said:

A central theme was that victory in a people's war depended on self-reliance. Lin's statement implied that North Vietnam should not rely on outside support for its victory, that Chinese should refrain from more positive action in Vietnam, and that China consequently would not ease its anti-Soviet stand in the interest of new joint Sino-Soviet efforts to support Vietnam. (*Ideology and Practice; The Evolution of Chinese Communism*, by James Chieh Hsiung. Page 261.)

By the nature of its timing—it appeared a month after U.S. imperialism's Gulf of Tonkin provocation—Lin's article served as the "theoretical" basis for China's non-solidarity with the worldwide support to Vietnamese resistance.

While one might well have expected the Chinese leaders to be in the forefront of this movement since this small country is on China's border, the Maoists instead opposed unity in any form, justifying their position by stressing Vietnamese "self-reliance" as the sole force for countering U.S. aggression. Lin's article asserted that a "people's war" requires a go-it-alone policy, calling for "self-reliance" without the commitment of the world's Socialist and anti-imperialist forces.

This "theory"—which denies the indivisibility of the world revolutionary process, and the inter-relationship of certain forms of armed and un-armed struggle—was further elucidated by Mao himself when he wrote that war:

. . . will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it, and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war. (Quoted in *Long Live The Victory of People's War!* by Lin Piao. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965. Page 68.)

Thus, according to Mao, the "counter-revolutionary war" against Vietnam could only have been opposed by "revolutionary war" conducted by the Vietnamese people—without support. (Mao in this statement simultaneously covers up the fact that world anti-imperialist unity could very likely have been able to prevent U.S. intervention in Vietnam in the first place, or at least made it less costly to the Vietnamese.)

This Maoist "thesis" is a formula for surrender to imperialism. If the world anti-imperialist forces have no responsibility for stopping the escalation of U.S. assistance to Portuguese and South African imperialism, if political and material support to the freedom fighters of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa is irrelevant—if this is true, then whatever is done must be done by the freedom fighters alone. Alone, they must resist the vio-

lence of apartheid fascism—which is *not* alone, but is generously supported by U.S. monopoly. During a "protracted people's war," they must "rely on their own strength," while forces in other parts of the world who call themselves "anti-imperialists," stand on the sidelines, offering as their only "support" the super-revolutionary rhetoric of Maoism!

### *New Stage in Worldwide Ideological Offensive*

Lin's article was designed not only to justify betrayal of unity with the Vietnamese people. It also signalled a new stage in the Maoists' worldwide ideological offensive projecting a "theory" that sought to justify Maoist policies directed against internal and international unity with the African and other liberation movements.

Lin Piao has gone from the scene, but the Maoist policies he advanced—aimed at undermining unity among the liberation movements of the world and isolating them through anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism from their natural allies—are still operative on every continent.

A typical example of the kind of Maoist theories for which Lin was the mouthpiece appears in his 1965 article in *Peking Review*, November 10, 1972. This recent article accompanies its demand for "third world self-reliance" with calls for the people to struggle "especially against the two superpowers."

By equating the bastion of world anti-imperialism, the Soviet Union, with the world citadel of imperialism, the United States, the Maoists seek to undermine anti-imperialist unity. In calling the USSR one of the "two superpowers," they seek to engulf the Soviet Union in the hatred the world has come to feel for U.S. imperialism. The rhetoric about "superpowers" is to disguise the difference between imperialism and anti-imperialism, thus camouflaging Maoism's "learning" to the imperialist side.

In their "superpowers" rhetoric, the Maoists have a specific great power objective—to gain advantages in their dealings with the U.S. As part of the deal, the Maoists' attempt to transfer "third world" hatred of U.S. imperialism to the USSR—an invaluable boost to the U.S. monopolists' strategy in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Lin Piao's November 10, 1972 article states, "Chairman Mao has pointed out: 'On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts.'" Here he is quoting from Mao's article, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan." In this connection, one must recall that both before and after this war Mao had repeatedly stated that the "self-reliance" and "regeneration" of the Chinese Revolution were based on the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union. Thus, long before he broke with the principles of internationalism, Mao clearly recognized that the self-action of the Chinese people *together with Soviet solidarity* was what brought victory to the Chinese Revolution. Before "leaning" to the side of imperialism, Mao made many such affirmations. In 1935, for example, he stated:

In the war of Resistance against the Japanese invaders we need the help of other nations, of the peoples of the Soviet Union above all. ("On The Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism," by Mao Tse-tung. Quoted in *What Peking Keeps Silent About!* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1972. Page 37.)

In 1939, Mao stated:

. . . The foreign policy conducted by the Soviet Union has been a consistent policy of peace that combines the interests of the USSR with those of the overwhelming majority of mankind. ("Identity of Interests of the Soviet Union and All Man-

kind," by Mao Tse-tung. Quoted in *What Peking Keeps Silent About!* Page 26.)

In 1948, Mao stated:

The October Revolution built a new front of revolutions, extending from the proletarians in the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples in the East, against world imperialism. ("Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!" by Mao Tse-tung. Quoted in *What Peking Keeps Silent about!* Page 9.)

In 1948, again Mao stated:

All the revolutionary forces in every country must unite; the revolutionary forces of all countries must unite; they must form a single anti-imperialist front with the Soviet Union at the head and follow a correct policy—otherwise victory is unattainable. (*Ibid.* Page 19.)

J. D. Simonds, who was with the United Kingdom Commissioner General's Office in Singapore, in 1950, and later with the United Kingdom Foreign Office, also confirms that when the Maoists "leaned" to the side of anti-imperialism, they did not separate self-reliance from unity with the Soviet Union. In the past, he wrote:

Mao's expressed view saw China forming a part of a great socialist system. . . . China may have been the centre of Asia or the greatest power in the region but in every other respect it was merely a segment, the second in importance, of the larger socialist world. Eventually, however, the regime's propaganda on such matters veered away from this view. China is now clearly, if still implicitly, thought of and described as the centre of the world. It may well be that Mao all along considered this to be the case, but that owing to the nation's weakness and need to rely on the Soviet Union the view was suppressed. (*China's World*, by J. S. Simmonds. Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1970. Page 151.)

Mao's perversion of the revolutionary interconnection between self-reliance and anti-imperialist unity surfaced at a later date, as he descended to a great power nationalist position. When the "Thought of Mao" gained control in China, the ideology of Han chauvinism revived the ancient, racist concept of China as the "center" of the world—replacing the Marxist-Leninist principle of world Socialist and anti-imperialist unity as the *center* of world resistance to racial, class and national oppression.

### *Obstruction to "A Single Anti-Imperialist Front"*

Since the early sixties, Maoism has openly obstructed the "single anti-imperialist front" needed to combat imperialist aggression and neo-colonialism in Africa and elsewhere. This Maoist opposition to unity has brought great harm to the peoples' struggles, especially in Vietnam and in the redoubt of Portuguese and South African fascist rule.

Events over the past decade in South Africa have done much to reveal the contradiction between reality and the Maoist "theory" of a "third world" versus a "white world." Whenever the concept of race is put forward as the "chief dynamic" of history, it replaces an anti-imperialist, internationalist class strategy with a bourgeois nationalist policy, dividing and thereby weakening the struggle against oppression. Though the conditions are different, this is true both for the struggles in the U.S. and in South Africa.

The South African liberation struggle certainly demands the unity of "third world" peoples. And the African National Congress of South Africa has sought to build that unity, involving the African majority, and the millions of Coloreds and Asians against the racist regime. But the advocates of Padmore's neo-Pan-Africanism—supported by the Chinese Maoists—notorious for their ability to adapt "theory" to fit great nationalist aims—countered African, Colored and Asian unity in Africa with a separatist racial policy.

Thus, despite their rhetoric about "third world peoples" the neo-Pan-Africanists to this day oppose such unity within South Africa.

When Padmore's racial, separatist ideology was overwhelmingly rejected by the African National Congress of South Africa, his followers formed the Pan-Africanist Congress—breaching the anti-imperialist front at its most crucial point in Africa. They were supported in this betrayal by the same Maoists who disrupted world Socialist and anti-imperialist unity over the past decade, particularly in relation to neo-colonialism and imperialist aggression in Africa and Vietnam.

In 1956, four years before this Maoist disruption came into the open, Padmore had already found an identity between the Maoists and his own anti-Soviet, bourgeois nationalism. In fact, he wrote of Mao as a "political genius" in adapting Marxism "to suit" China. (*Pan-Africanism or Communism?* by George Padmore. Page 319.)

During the Accra Conference three years later, Padmore established contact with a small group of dissidents from the African National Congress of South Africa. The group was headed by a South African trade unionist linked with the C.I.A. This individual had the support of the so-called International Free Trade Unions, whose operations are financed by the C.I.A., and the Meanys of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. (It is especially in South Africa that the alliance of the Maoists, the C.I.A., the neo-Pan-Africanists and the racist misleaders of the U.S. labor movement has come into open operation in the past decade—objectively fitting into the strategy of South African imperialism and its U.S., Portuguese, and NATO partners.)

With Padmore's encouragement, this group returned to South Africa and, supported by the Chinese Maoists, organized the Pan-Africanist Congress, P.A.C., as a splitoff from the African National Congress of South Africa—the great mass organization conducting armed struggle against the Republic of South Africa's ruling class. Today, the P.A.C.,

which breached anti-imperialist unity in South Africa, continues to enjoy the active support of the Chinese Maoists.

Jordan K. Ngubane, an anti-Communist African writer and member of the Liberal Party, who at one time participated in a united front with the African National Congress, described how Padmore's anti-Communist, separatist influence brought about the split of the dissident group from the African National Congress and the formation of the P.A.C. Revealing how the anti-Communist hatred of the P.A.C organizers paralleled that of the fascist Afrikaner Nationalists, Ngubane wrote:

Some of the strangest alignments may one day emerge from this hatred—especially since the Afrikaner nationalist is also bitterly hostile to the pro-Soviet side. Communism pioneered the nonracial coordination of black, brown, and white initiatives after Union. After 1924, it admitted to membership people of all races and in that way projected itself as the arch enemy of some of the things Afrikaner nationalism regarded as precious. (*An African Explains Apartheid*, by Jordan K. Ngubane. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1963. Pages 178-179.)

Commenting further on the adherents of Padmore's neo-Pan-Africanism, Ngubane said:

The African's and the Afrikaner's hatred of Communism on this plane is so intense that an alignment between the two is no longer as remote an eventuality as events might suggest. (Ibid. Page 179.)

There is no doubt that the activity of the Pan-Africanist Congress and its Maoist supporters has facilitated the fascist onslaught of the Afrikaner regime against the South African people over the past decade. In fact, this apartheid regime has been able to exploit the convenient neo-Pan-African doctrine of separatism to facilitate operation of a sham "self-determination"—and this has enabled it to intensify its aggression against the people's struggle for *real* self-determination.

The regime has set aside several widely separated areas—selected for their lack of fertility and because they are completely devoid of natural resources—as apartheid reserves, called Bantu "homelands." Scattered, occupying only 13 percent of the land, without possibility of a viable economy, these "homelands" are proclaimed by the racists as "self-determination" for the African 70 percent majority of the population.

These "homelands"—rural "ghettos" of indescribable poverty—serve as labor pools for the apartheid national economy, in which white workers are paid 15 to 20 times more than Africans. The sole inhabitants within the "homelands," the Africans at the same time are the majority population outside these rural ghettos. Even though they are restricted by law to the bottom of the job categories, the economy could not operate without them. Whether they live on the Bantu reservations or in ghettos on the outskirts of Johannesburg, Durban, etc., they are completely segregated and without the semblance of even formal rights.

A worker may never have seen one of the "homelands," but on the slightest pretext he can have his pass lifted and be sent to jail or to one of the reservations. There he becomes a part of the "surplus" population, whose prospects never go beyond occasional migratory labor outside or on the fringes of the "homeland" where especially high-profit plants are being set up, employing "homeland" labor at even less than the usual abysmal rates.

The neo-Pan-Africanist strategy of racial separation, particularly as seen in the P.A.C.'s policies, stands exposed as playing into the hands of the racist government, now intensifying the separate and unequal existence of South Africa's majority. Increasingly, this majority sees the non-separatist, anti-imperialist policies of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Communist Party of South Africa as the way to African self-determination and majority rule.



### ***"Subversion of the National Liberation Revolution"***

In 1968, the African National Congress of South Africa, (A.N.C.) issued a report on the background and activities of the P.A.C.—activities "aimed not at destroying the oppressive apartheid machinery but at crippling and thwarting the revolutionary program of the African National Congress." (*The Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, Whom Does It Serve?* Prepared and issued by the African National Congress of South Africa. Morogoro, Tanzania, 1968. Page 1.)

The report states that toward the end of 1958 the small group of disruptive adventurers operating within the A.N.C. decided on a formal break with the organization.

In 1959:

... After a lengthy meeting held in the luxurious premises of the library of the United States Information Service (USIS) in Johannesburg, they decided to form a revolutionary political organization which they called the Pan Africanist Congress. Thus the dark schemes of American imperialists' subversion of the successful development of the national liberation revolution against apartheid fascism were exposed to the light of day. (Ibid.)

What motivated the breakaway? The disrupters who later formed the P.A.C.:

... had all along been bitterly opposed to the United Front Policy of the African National Congress. Their agitation against the policy became particularly vocal after the historic *Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign* of 1952 which had been mainly carried out by the militant volunteers of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Congress and some militant white youth.

This close alliance and cooperation with the democratic organizations from other racial groups, led the Pan Africanist Congress leaders to wildly allege that the A.N.C. had lost its

identity as a purely African revolutionary organization and had surrendered its leadership to non-African sections of the liberation movement. These false accusations were made in spite of the fact that the liberation movement had unanimously accepted the obvious truth that because of the concrete historical situation existing in our country, the main content of the revolution in South Africa is the liberation of the African people who are not only the overwhelming majority but are also the most oppressed section of the entire population. (Ibid. Pages 1 and 2)

The report then goes on to say:

After the adoption of the historic Freedom Charter in 1955 by all the constituent members of the South African National Liberation Movement (the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, The South African Coloured People's Organization which later became the South African Coloured People's Congress), the same disruptive elements ... proclaimed very loudly that the Freedom Charter did not express the true aspirations of the liberation movement and people, but was a document inspired by Moscow.

One of the pet charges that has always been hurled at our organization by the present P.A.C. leaders was that the African National Congress was dominated by Communists, a charge which they have now substituted with the term "modern Soviet revision" in order to solicit financial and other assistance from the People's Republic of China. This anti-communist hysteria of the P.A.C. leaders evoked shrill echoes of support in the enemy camps at home and abroad. (Ibid. Page 2)

In 1950 the fascist government of South Africa enacted the Suppression of Communism Act, which has been the basis for ever increasing attacks against any type of opposition to its racist regime. The A.N.C. document relates that:

As a result of a reactionary anti-communist witch-hunt which the secret police conducted after the passing of that law, Church

leaders, people who avowedly professed anti-socialist ideals and leaders of anti-fascist political organizations received banning and restriction notices, isolating them from intercourse with the masses of the people. The leading ranks of the African National Congress and allied organizations of the national liberation movement were the most severely hit by the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act.

Only the pure revolutionaries of the Pan Africanist Congress escaped the wrath of the fascist regime of South Africa. The reason for this is of course not far to seek. Their disruptive activities have always been a boon to the South African racists, the only section which has had occasion to feel highly satisfied.

. . . The disunity caused by counter-revolutionary activity is always a blessing to the oppressors. (Ibid. Page 3)

In 1956, George Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* was published. Two years later, Potlako K. Labello—one of the group that was soon to form the P.A.C.—was decisively defeated in the A.N.C. when he used Padmore's anti-Communist separatist arguments to oppose development of a new stage in the liberation struggle.

The essence of Padmore's position coincided perfectly with the strategy of the racist government, which used—and still uses—anti-Communism to isolate and disrupt the liberation movement, together with intensified application of fascist measures to outlaw contact between the African majority and the millions of Coloreds and Asians, as well as whites who dare struggle against the regime.

The apartheid regime applied the "law," and enforced it by terror and violence to accomplish its aims. Paralleling the government's actions, Labello and his group used Padmore's anti-Communist ideology to create separatist division between Africans and the Coloured and Asian components of the liberation movement.

The A.N.C. report states that:

In April 1958, Potlako K. Labello . . . used the services of the enemy press to oppose the national stoppage of work aimed at highlighting the crippling grievances of the oppressed people of South Africa. The national strike had been called to coincide with the White-only general elections on 14th, 15th, and 16th, April 1958. Naturally, all the reactionary South African dailies lapped up the anti-strike call by this great revolutionary. (Ibid.)

After this strike-breaking act, the dissidents within the A.N.C. were irrevocably exposed. They could no longer conceal their disruption behind Padmore's anti-Communist, separatist neo-Pan-Africanism. At this point, the P.A.C. was formed to carry out the policies rejected by the A.N.C.

The next phase in the neo-Pan-Africanists' counter-revolutionary activity is one of the most shameful betrayals in the long history of the struggle against white minority rule in South Africa. The African National Congress document relates:

At the annual conference held in December 1959, the African National Congress finalized the plans for a nation-wide campaign of active mass resistance against the fascist regime. The planned forms of mass resistance were to be national stoppages of work, burning of passes and later sabotage against the oppressor's vital installations.

By March 1960, the A.N.C. massive campaign was already underway throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. Thus the masses of the oppressed people were successfully mobilized for the March 31 Anti-Pass National stoppage of work.

However, on March 21st, the newly-formed counter-revolutionary Pan Africanist Congress issued a treacherous call to the people to go and stand outside police stations. To dupe and confuse our people, the "leaders" of this organization said that the call was being issued by the Congress (a generic title for the African National Congress among political and non-political circles in South Africa.) These calculations were also that in

view of the massive popular Anti-Pass campaign of the African National Congress, the masses of the people would associate this call with the commencement of the planned onslaught against the pass system. It must be noted here with special emphasis that the A.N.C. campaign was to start on March 31. But the P.A.C. sought to spread disunity by issuing the March 21 call.

The mass massacres of the people on the 21st March in Sharpeville and Langa in Cape Town by the South African government are well known. The African National Congress directed the wrath of the people caused by the massacres along more effective lines which culminated in a successful national stoppage of work called by the late A.N.C. President, Chief A. J. Luthuli. Also at his call the burning of passes on a nationwide scale followed.

At the initiative of the African National Congress, a meeting of African leaders of all shades of political opinion, various religious and cultural groups and organizations, etc. was organized in December 1960 to consider joint plans of action to counter the mounting reactionary onslaught of the fascist apartheid regime on the African people in particular. At the conclusion of the meeting, a Continuation Committee was unanimously elected from representatives of all the participating organizations including the Pan-Africanist Congress. The main task of this committee was to make preparations for a country-wide All-In-African Unity conference of the African people scheduled for March, 1961.

In the midst of unprecedented activity all over the country, preparation for the crucial meeting, the representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress suddenly made press statements withdrawing their support without prior consultation with any of their colleagues serving on the preparatory committee. To add insult to injury, they proceeded to call upon the African people to ignore the consultative committee's call for the election of delegates to the planned conference. Notwithstanding, the meeting took place at Maritzburg on March 21 and was addressed by Nelson Mandela. This was the last meeting Mandela addressed before his arrest.

The growing anger of the African people against the fascist apartheid regime was demonstrated by the enthusiasm of delegates from all over the country who braved all government intimidation and obstruction in order to attend the Maritzburg All-In-African Unity Conference. The one thousand five hundred assembled delegates took a decision for a national stoppage of work to coincide with the celebrations by the white section of the population for the changeover of South Africa from Dominion to Republic status without prior consultation. The basis of our demand, which had not been heeded, was for the holding of a National Convention of representatives of all racial groups to decide on the future equitable Constitution designed to safeguard and guarantee full democratic rights for all the South African citizens irrespective of colour, race, creed or sex.

On the eve of the planned nation-wide strike, the Pan Africanist Congress issued and distributed thousands of leaflets exhorting the African people to ignore the strike. On the other hand, the terrorist government of our country frightened by the unity of the people unleashed a massive show of strength by combined operations of the army and police in an effort to intimidate the people. In certain areas, police agents were seen handing out the mass produced P.A.C. anti-strike leaflets.

No comment is necessary to illustrate the complete identity of aims between the P.A.C. and the fascist government of South Africa except to put a poignant question: Who was serving whom? (Ibid. Pages 3, 4 and 5)

The splitting tactics of the P.A.C. described in the report brings to mind those of the Trotskyites and Maoists within the anti-imperialist struggles in various parts of the world. And those familiar with the anti-war movement in the U.S. will recall how the Trotskyites and Maoists time and again manœuvred to call separate actions on different dates, or splinter actions on the same date, obstructing unity at each turning point in the struggle against U.S. escalation in Vietnam.

### *Serving the Apartheid Rulers*

The "leaders" of the Pan Africanist Congress, who called the people to the police stations in the name of "Congress," were serving the apartheid rulers through a strategy directed against the liberation movement. They undermined unity and diverted the people's forces from a realistic action under conditions of fascist terror, which the A.N.C. had set to begin the March 31 Anti-Pass National Work stoppage—an action aimed at confronting the regime with the mass unity of the people, who were unarmed. By calling upon the people to appear at the fascist police stations, the P.A.C. provocateurs were not only signaling to the fascist regime that the united front of the liberation movement had been breached—in addition, by deceitfully calling this separate action they trapped an unarmed people into a direct confrontation with armed, strong points of South African fascism. Even now, in the new stage of guerilla warfare led by the African National Congress, this would be sheer adventurism! Clearly, the Sharpeville massacre could not have taken place except as a direct result of the P.A.C. "leaders" splitting of the liberation movement and deliberate misleading of the people.

Not a year has gone by since the Sharpeville Massacre without the appearance of books and articles calculated to conceal the meaning of the event and P.A.C.'s role in it. One of the most recent of the books is *African Liberation Movements*, by Richard Gibson (Published for the Institute of Race Relations, London. Oxford University Press, London, 1972.) who attempts to create a "revolutionary" image around the neo-Pan-Africanist and Maoist disruption of anti-imperialist unity. He describes the P.A.C.'s provocation at Sharpeville as a turning point toward "militant" action; and asserts that with Sharpeville "the momentum had already shifted to PAC." (Ibid. Page 55.)

To cover up the fact that P.A.C.'s Sharpeville provocation had split the united front and caused "the momentum" to

shift not to P.A.C. but to a new fascist onslaught against the people, Gibson falsified the facts concerning P.A.C.'s role in that fateful March 21st at Sharpeville. He writes that "The A.N.C. could not help but follow" after P.A.C. "fixed March 21 as the date for the opening of the anti-pass campaign." (Ibid. Page 56) However, after more pages of anti-Communist falsification Gibson is forced to contradict himself and admit that the initiative *never* passed to P.A.C. Despite the fascist assaults P.A.C.'s provocation helped unleash on the people and A.N.C., the initiative remained—and still remains—with the great African National Congress of South Africa.

Gibson makes this admission when he reveals that Matthew Nkoana, a former P.A.C. leader and "convinced idealistic Pan-Africanist," "sharply castigated" the P.A.C. for its disruption of the liberation movements in South Africa, in the Portuguese-occupied areas and Zimbabwe. Gibson writes:

. . . Nkoana envisages an all-African united struggle against the white minority regimes in South Africa, and he has sharply castigated both the PAC and the Zimbabwe African National Union for their criticism of the ANC-Zanu alliance. . . . (Ibid. Page 103)

Gibson next quotes Nkoana as follows:

A decisive halt must be called to the squabbles among the rival organizations, so that they can get on to serious discussion and planning. Don't let the chauvinistic tail wag the revolutionary dog. (Ibid.)

But Gibson then attacks Nkoana's call to end P.A.C.'s disruptive activity by asserting that "such an appeal for unity seems both naive and unrealistic." (Ibid.)

If today Gibson opposes unity of the liberation movements—specifically a united front between the armed strug-

gles led by the African National Congress and the guerillas of the Zimbabwe African National Union—how can one rely on his version of P.A.C.'s role at Sharpeville over a decade ago?

When, for instance, Gibson claims that P.A.C. called for the March 21st action before instead of after the A.N.C.'s call for the March 31st action, we are involved in something other than a dispute about dates; the issue is exposure—or a coverup—of the difference between devotion to unity against a brutal racist enemy or disruption of unity under cover of anti-Communist, separatist neo-Pan-Africanism. It is significant, in this connection, that while Gibson frequently quotes from *Urban Revolt in South Africa, 1960-1964*, by Edward Feit, (Northwestern University Press, 1971) he omits the crucial evidence Feit presented on P.A.C.'s role at Sharpeville:

The question of whose decision it was first to launch a campaign against passes in 1960 has been disputed by both ANC and PAC. Each has claimed credit for the idea. It seems senseless to argue the point. Of greater importance is the fact that PAC set the pace and tone of the campaign, regardless of any prior plans that the ANC may have contemplated. But in terms of time alone, the ANC seems to have devised and disclosed its plans first. (Ibid. Page 37.)

After making this admission, Feit asserts it is "senseless" to dwell on it—that is, "senseless" to make an issue of the P.A.C. disruption underlying the so-called date controversy. In this way, he attempts to divert attention from the P.A.C. provocation that helped make it possible for the apartheid regime to "set the pace and tone" of a fascist offensive against the liberation struggles, beginning with the Sharpeville Massacre.

Next, Feit goes on to say A.N.C. "looked to a long-drawn out campaign," while P.A.C. "planned something completely different." (Ibid. Pages 37 and 38) It is certainly true

P.A.C. "planned something completely different" from A.N.C., but Feit would have us believe it was P.A.C. that projected the revolutionary plans!

The A.N.C.'s anti-pass campaign was to have been launched with a mass stay-away-from-work day on March 31st. But P.A.C. planned a diversion instead—and suddenly issued a call for people to confront the fascist regime at its armed strong points, with leaflets signed "Congress." As intended by P.A.C., people took "Congress" to mean the African National Congress, since this was the usual way of referring to that great people's organization. Many people who responded to the leaflet in different parts of the country on March 21st were under the impression that "Congress" had substituted a different action from the one announced earlier for March 31st. Moreover, the apartheid radio played its part in spreading news of the March 21st action called by "Congress."

Feit, continuing in his build-up of the P.A.C. goes on to say:

The impact of this (P.A.C.) campaign could obviously be very great. As was set forth in an article in *Contact*, a news magazine very sympathetic to PAC, this campaign would make or break the movement. Success would catapult PAC to the pinnacle of African leadership, while failure would result in its total eclipse.

In stating this, Feit provides the evidence that refutes his own estimate of the P.A.C. leaders as "revolutionaries." He inadvertently reveals them as counter-revolutionary adventurers, determined to "make or break the movement" with a formula for "instant revolution." What resulted from the P.A.C. provocation was "total eclipse" for these misleaders, except insofar as they can continue to cause disunity. And the liberation movement in South Africa is still headed by the African National Congress!

The fascist regime's objective at Sharpeville coincided with that of the neo-Pan-Africanist P.A.C. leaders who

planned their disruption in the offices of the United States Information Service to set the stage for massive arrests of the A.N.C. leaders. By deceitfully calling the provocation that unleashed the Sharpeville Massacre in the name of "Congress," the P.A.C. had linked the A.N.C. leaders with this provocation. With its mass terror, mass arrests and plot to demobilize A.N.C.'s millions of supporters by undermining confidence in the A.N.C. leaders, the regime prevented the success of the stay-away-from-work campaign. This campaign—not the P.A.C.'s provocative call to unarmed people to confront the fascist regime at its heavily armed police headquarters—presented the real threat to the apartheid rulers. The policies of the P.A.C. misleaders responsible for that provocation can be interpreted as "revolutionary" only by those who have no understanding of revolutionary tactics or who also wish to deceive the people.

In promoting the disruptive tactics of the P.A.C. misleaders as "revolutionary," Feit does not hesitate to play with the lives and future of the South African people. This brave white professor is in a class with those white pseudo-radicals who not long ago were applauding from the sidelines as Cleaver and Newton engaged in the rhetoric of "picking up the gun"—while enjoying the limelight as the favorite "revolutionaries" of the racist rulers of the U.S.

Feit is one of the many white, anti-Communist academics connected with the racist, monopoly-dominated centers for "research" who preceded Richard Gibson in attempting to bury the true nature of the diametrically opposed policies and actions of A.N.C. and P.A.C.

### *Today's Different Level of Struggle*

The recent strikes of African workers in mines, factories and on the docks are an historically necessary, revolutionary part of the mobilization of masses for ever-higher levels of struggle for liberation in South Africa. One reason why this

mass action takes the form today of direct strikes as compared to the A.N.C.'s stay-away-from-work day—an equally revolutionary tactic in an earlier period—is the difference in the present level of struggle.

The strikes are taking place against a background of developing armed struggles led by the African National Congress of South Africa and by organizations of the liberation movements in Rhodesia and Portuguese-occupied areas. The armed struggles are adding to the people's unity and confidence in *all* forms of struggle—and intensifying the crisis of white minority rule in South Africa and other countries.

These armed struggles are directed at the most vulnerable points of fascist rule, while in contrast, when the neo-Pan-African misleaders called upon unarmed people to attack the police strong points, the armed struggle had not even begun.

The P.A.C. diversion served the regime's aims by heading off the A.N.C. stay-away-from-work action, a tactic uniquely suited to the level of struggle at that time in a context of apartheid terror. The A.N.C. action would have amounted to a general strike since the African workers' absence from the job would have brought the economy to a halt.

The main demand of the A.N.C. campaign was abolition of the pass laws, the foundation of the apartheid rule. Thus the stay-at-home tactic was truly revolutionary, since it combined the economic power of the masses with a fundamental political demand for democracy. But while the provocation of the neo-Pan-Africanist "revolutionaries" enabled the fascist ruling class to abort the campaign at that time; the struggle for liberation today mounts under far more difficult and complex conditions which combine the unarmed action of the masses with the armed guerilla struggle.

To understand the extent of the neo-Pan-African betrayal at Sharpeville, one must recognize the full significance of the current strikes. The struggle at the time of Sharpeville, led



by the A.N.C. and the Communist Party of South Africa, was for democratic rights, a basic part of the fight for self-determination. Today's strikes continue—in a new form and at a higher level—this fundamental struggle for the right of self-determination.

To Maoists and other pseudo-radicals the only relevant tactic is armed struggle. But the fact that armed struggle is now underway in South Africa does not make non-armed struggle irrelevant. On the contrary, the super-revolutionary Maoist insistence on armed struggle alone is a continuation today of the Neo-Pan-Africanist provocation that disrupted the tactically correct stay-away-from-work "strike" in 1960.

The pseudo-radical insistence on disruptive tactics that do not conform to the practical needs of mass struggle is not a new phenomenon. Lenin wrote of it:

Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to a *mass* struggle in progress, which as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually give rise to new and more varied methods of defense and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognizing as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants at the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes." (*Collected Works*, Volume 11. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962. Page 213. Emphasis in the original.)

### *The Parallel and the Differences*

Both the striking parallel and the differences between the Sharpeville Massacre, March 21, 1960 in South Africa and Bloody Sunday, January 9, 1905 in St. Petersburg (now

Leningrad), Russia offer a significant lesson for today's struggle. The most important, but not the only difference was that Bloody Sunday came on the eve of the 1905 Revolution—precursor to the October 1917 Socialist Revolution—during a great strike wave sweeping Russia.

Most of the hundreds of thousands of workers involved in these strikes were under Communist leadership. However, a Colonel Zubatov had organized a split-off of several thousand, and one of the leaders of this breakaway movement, Father Gapon, a priest, succeeded in bringing several thousand workers to present a plea to the czar at the Winter Palace. Most of those who followed Gapon still looked upon the czar as their "Father," who would surely respond to their anguished pleas for a better life. Lenin wrote that these peaceful demonstrators who gathered at the Winter Palace were met by the czar's "Plan of the St. Petersburg Battle":

The Grand Duke Vladimir appointed General Prince Vasilchikov Commander of the Army in the Field. The entire capital was split up into areas among the officers. The czar played at war quite seriously, as though confronted by the invasion of an armed foe. During the military operations the General staff sat around a green-topped table on Vasilyevsky Island, receiving reports from every area at half-hour intervals. (*Collected Works*. Volume 8. Foreign Languages Publishing House. Moscow, 1962, Page 110.)

As the marchers led by Father Gapon neared the Winter Palace, the soldiers opened fire. The czarist Government stated that 96 were killed and 350 wounded. But French, British and other correspondents at the scene reported 4,600 killed or wounded before nightfall, with the killings continuing into the night. Writing a few days after Bloody Sunday, Lenin stated:

That Father Gapon is an agent-provocateur is a surmise borne out by the fact that he is a member and one of the ringleaders of the Zubatov society. Furthermore, the foreign newspapers,

like our own correspondents note the fact that . . . (the government) *wanted* to provoke bloody reprisals under conditions favorable to itself. The English correspondents even point out that the energetic participation of the Zubatovists in the movement could only have been of special advantage to the government under the circumstances. The revolutionary intelligentsia and the class-conscious proletarians, who would have been the most likely to provide themselves with arms, were bound to stay aloof from the Zubatov movement, to give it a wide berth. The government thus had its hands free to play a winning game. The demonstration, so they reckoned, would be made up of the most peaceful, least organized, and most backward workers; it would be child's play for our soldiery to handle them, and the proletariat would be taught a wholesome lesson; an excellent excuse would be furnished for shooting down anybody and everybody in the streets; in Court the victory of the reactionary (or Grand Ducal) party over the liberals would be complete; the harshest repressions would follow.

Both the English and the conservative German newspapers directly ascribe such a plan of action to the government. . . . It is most likely true. The events of the bloody Ninth of January confirm this too well. (Ibid. Page 105. Emphasis in the original.)

Lenin then added:

But the existence of such a plan by no means rules out the possibility that Father Gapon was an *unconscious* instrument of this plan. (Ibid. Page 106. Emphasis in the original.)

It was Father Gapon's own action that gave Lenin the basis for saying the priest might have been an "unconscious instrument" of provocation. Right after Bloody Sunday, Gapon called for support to the revolution against the czar:

Comrades, Russian workers! We no longer have a tsar. Today a river of blood divides him from the Russian people. It is time for the Russian workers to begin the struggle for the people's freedom without him. (Ibid. Quoted by Lenin on Page 111.)

Not long after making this appeal, Father Gapon sought out Lenin. He separated himself from the anti-Communist government-controlled Zubatov movement and became involved in the revolutionary struggle.

Objectively, both the march led by Father Gapon and the provocation created at Sharpeville by the neo-Pan-Africanist P.A.C. leaders served as the instruments of extreme reaction. As Lenin predicted, the "harshest repressions" followed Bloody Sunday—as they followed Sharpeville.

However, unlike Father Gapon, who left the police-controlled split-off group and joined the struggle against czarism after Bloody Sunday, the key leaders of the P.A.C. have continued their anti-Communist, separatist opposition to unity against the fascist regime of South Africa.

Whether Gapon was "sincere" when he joined the revolutionary movement, "no one can say with certainty, beyond those who knew him well personally, that is, a mere handful. Only the course of historical events could decide this, only fact, facts, facts." And the "facts," declared Lenin, "decided in Gapon's favor." (Ibid. Pages 112-113)

But "facts, facts, facts" have not decided in favor of the neo-Pan-Africanists who formed the P.A.C. split-off from the African National Congress in the Johannesburg offices of the United States Information Service in 1959, who remained with the P.A.C. after engineering the provocation at Sharpeville, and now continue the policies that have made the Pan-Africanist Congress an objective instrument of the apartheid fascist regime and its U.S. imperialist supporters. The "course of historical events" has decided that this leadership is consciously guilty of treason to the national liberation struggle in South Africa.

### *Self-Reliance, Mutual Reliance*

Maoism has not only betrayed the right of self-determination and to peaceful coexistence by denying the dialectical inseparability of these two principles. The Maoists have also violated the indivisible relationship between the principles of self-reliance and of *mutual* reliance within the class and national struggles. The principle of mutuality is at the heart of the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Maoism's betrayal of the principle of mutuality in relation to Vietnam is matched by its betrayal of the liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere—in the name of "self-reliance," "independence" and "protracted struggle."

Certainly the African liberation movements, while first of all relying on their own strength and self-action, have the right to expect *all* Socialist and anti-imperialist forces to mobilize their united strength behind the African struggles. But Maoism asserts that:

... the oppressed nations and Asian, African and Latin American countries and people will find themselves in a passive position and in a blind alley if they do not adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and relying on their own efforts. (*Peking Review* No. 45, November 10, 1972. Pages 8-9.)

But in Africa, as elsewhere, the white minority rulers do *not* rely on their own strength. They also depend on U.S., British, Japanese, German, French and Belgian neo-colonialist economic and military assistance. When the Maoists and neo-Pan-Africanists call for anti-Communist, anti-Soviet go-it-alone policies, they undermine the genuine self-reliance and initiative of the newly independent countries and the African liberation movements, thus giving objective assistance to the combined attacks of the fascist rulers of South Africa, Portuguese occupied areas and Rhodesia against the guerilla fighters.

The Leninist concept of self-reliance combined with the solidarity of the world anti-imperialist forces headed by the Socialist camp will not lead the "third world" peoples into a "blind alley." It is the Maoist "theories" violating the inseparability of self-reliance and anti-imperialist mutuality that threaten the independence and effective self-reliance of the liberation struggles.

In a lame effort to camouflage the "blind alley" inherent in separatist "theories" of "self-reliance," the previously quoted Maoist article adds:

The revolutionary people certainly will meet with difficulties and setbacks, since the struggle is protracted and arduous. (*Ibid.* Page 9.)

It is a "theoretical" deception for the Maoists to project as a universally applicable concept for the second half of the Twentieth Century the specific experience of the Chinese Revolution which culminated at the end of the first half of the century. The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 after prolonged struggles, first under Sun Yat Sen's leadership and then of the Communist Party, was bound up with the struggles leading to the October Revolution, to the success of Soviet Socialist construction and the decisive role of the first—and at that time only—Socialist state in smashing Axis aggression in Europe and Asia.

Since the end of World War II, the working class has come to power in many countries—from Pyongyang to Hanoi, from Berlin to Havana. And now the world system of Socialism provides the support for an infinitely more rapid development and acceleration of the world revolutionary process—not only as compared to the period before the Chinese Revolution but to the period of its victory, the period that saw the rise of the world Socialist system, the forced retreat of imperialism from open colonial rule in most of the African countries, and the new phenomenon of worldwide revulsion and demonstrations of protest against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Maoism's elevation of China's "protracted" struggles, into a universal "theory" for all liberation struggles, applicable to all oppressed in every historical period on every continent, is a transparent attempt to cover up its opposition to a single anti-imperialist front and strategy—which would immeasurably reduce the "protracted" character of the liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere as compared with the earlier Chinese experience.

Of course, the struggles in Africa and other countries have been difficult. But Maoist "theories" of "protracted people's war" with "self-reliance" counterposed to anti-imperialist unity and support—are inseparably related to Maoism's disruption of the world anti-imperialist front. Maoist influence in Africa, Asia and Latin America does not assist the liberation movements—it plays into the hands of imperialist aggression as in Vietnam where at the very least its role aided U.S. imperialism in making the war more "protracted" and "arduous" for the Vietnamese people.

In Africa, Maoist and neo-Pan-African divisiveness is also making the struggles more "arduous" and while doing so, is "protracting" neo-colonialist domination and aggression, especially in the southern redoubt of fascist rule—where European and Japanese imperialism are directly interlocked with U.S. strategy to bring about an African counterpart of what occurred in Indo-China over the past thirty years.

It is precisely because the guerilla fighters of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa are facing such arduous struggles—demanding the utmost self-reliance and self-sacrifice—that Maoist and neo-Pan-African ideology, which would isolate them from world socialist and anti-imperialist unity, must be rejected.

The Maoist and neo-Pan-Africanist "theories" separating the African liberation struggles from their natural allies on a world scale would prolong the imperialist offensive, increase the human sacrifice, and delay victory in the last area of direct, unified racist domination in Africa. The Leninist principle combining self-action with the unity of the Socialist camp and all anti-imperialist struggles would shorten—

not "protract"—neo-colonial oppression, and lead to genuine independence and self-reliance for the African people.

## THE CRISIS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

What are the causes of the crisis of the Black Panther Party in the U.S.? How could an organization which portrayed itself as the revolutionary vanguard become so quickly isolated from the people? Why were the hopes of so many militant and courageous Black youths who were attracted to the party turned into frustration and even tragedy? No answer to these questions can be given without taking into account the attacks and frameups launched by the class enemy against the party. Yet even these brutal and murderous attacks, conducted both from within and outside the organization, cannot alone explain the crisis of the Black Panther Party.

Huey P. Newton, writing in the *Black Panther* of April 17, 1971 attempts to provide an explanation for this crisis, which led to the party's split into factions, one headed by himself, the other by Eldridge Cleaver.

This chapter first appeared in Political Affairs August 1971

In his April 17 article, Newton states: "Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun . . . Therefore, the Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge Cleaver defected from the party."

In saying this, Newton appears at first glance to have taken a step toward understanding and correcting past mistakes—to have begun the process of disentangling the Black Panther Party from Cleaver's catastrophic influence. However, in this article as a whole, Newton, instead of providing answers, creates still more questions and doubts as to the past, present and future course of the Black Panther Party.

That the uneasiness created by this article is well-founded is confirmed by Newton's subsequent writings and speeches, and particularly by his May 29 article in the *Black Panther*. Here he announces that the party is ready to open, in San Francisco, a shoe factory and one to make clothing and golf bags—the first of many factories to be operated by the Black Panthers in ghettos across the nation.

That these are enterprises of "Black capitalism," Newton does not deny. In fact, he states: "I am doing an article now called 'To Reanalyze Black Capitalism'. . . . I think this is the kind of thing we're involved in and we'll judge how successful we are by whether we can take the community with us."

It will undoubtedly appear to some that there is a head-on contradiction between Newton's "new" direction and his previous "revolutionary" period. The opposite is true. There is no contradiction between his previous ultra-Leftist role and his present position. In essence, both positions represent accommodations to the status quo—even though the earlier one was more effectively camouflaged with the rhetoric of revolution. The link between both positions is the fact that neither "Black capitalism" nor ultra-revolutionary rhetoric offers the people the path of struggle. That is why the new form of opportunism (like the old form, still pursued by

Eldridge Cleaver) presents no perspective for the Black liberation movement.

### *Hard Reality*

According to Newton, the Black Panther Party had its origin as a response to what he interprets as the people's rejection of non-violent action. When the Black Panthers first picked up the gun, he states in the April 17 article, "we are acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up on the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots."

In this estimate of what was needed as the next step in the Black liberation struggle can be found the source of the Panthers' subsequent difficulties. By offering the alternative of armed self-defense, the Panthers presented the upsurging Black urban youth with a false choice diverting them from mass unity and struggle.

As Congressman Ronald Dellums recently stated, "The average Black person, if you go back to that experience in the ghetto, doesn't wake up in the morning oriented to the bullet or the bomb. He's oriented to hope, and that's when you can move him. . . . It is time now to translate Black is Beautiful into hard political reality."

In 1966 that "hard political reality" called, as it does today, for more militant forms of organized and disciplined mass struggle. The people, including the youth, in their fight to create a movement to end poverty and racism, will respond to such an alternative to the blind alley of spontaneity or the equally hopeless concept of "picking up the gun."

It is clear that the people want to challenge the oppressor on the grounds *they* choose, not on those chosen by their enemy. They want to engage the class enemy where he is



most vulnerable—and this ruling class, the most massively armed oppressor in history, is the most vulnerable of all oppressors when the oppressed and exploited move in solidarity into the arena of mass struggle. The guns of the racist monopolists will be of no avail when the Blacks together with all the oppressed and exploited exercise their strength through self-organization and unity. That is why the people do not relate to the idea, whether advanced by Mao Tse-tung or Eldridge Cleaver or Huey Newton, that the power to change things comes out of the barrel of a gun.

### *Strategy—Defensive or Offensive?*

When Newton advocated guns and a defensive strategy as the solution for Black people, he was wrong on both counts. Not only did the people refuse to relate to the gun, but they also rejected the concept of a defensive strategy. Black people have been warding off attacks for 400 years. They want and need an offensive strategy to build a great popular movement to end racist oppression.

In his concept of self-defense, Newton endeavored to respond to the oppression of his people. However, this concept excluded the masses of the people from their own liberation struggle. It involved the idea of an elite few acting for the masses—in fact, supplanting them.

Thus, even before Cleaver joined the Black Black Panther Party, Newton had substituted elitism for mass struggle. Cleaver's influence brought the elitist concept to new levels of anarchistic, adventurist confusion and provocation—but his ideology was nevertheless inherent in the original concepts on which the Black Panther Party was founded.

At one point, however, it did appear, even if briefly, that the Black Panthers might be turning away from these original concepts, that they might supplant Mao's Little Red Book and Cleaver's anarchism with Marx and Lenin. This was in the summer of 1969 when the Black Panther Party

called for studying the historic report on the united front by Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Communist leader who transformed himself from the accused into the accuser while standing trial in a Nazi court. But instead of linking theory with practice, the actions taken by the Black Panther Party turned the concept of the united front into a sectarian caricature of the Marxist-Leninist principles on which it is based. Its policies and actions continued to be inconsistent with the interests of the class struggle and the Black liberation movement. It becomes increasingly clear that the Black Panther Party had only adopted some of the phraseology of Marxism-Leninism, but not the ideology.

Against this background, internal strife in the Black Panther Party deteriorated into factionalism, and—with neither faction guided by scientific theory—into an inevitable split. Newton expelled Cleaver and a group of his supporters. Although there are now two separate groups, both unfortunately hold similar anti-Marxist views on the most basic principles of class and national liberation.

### *"There Go My People"*

It is worth recalling that in the same period when the Black Panthers came on the scene, others were also seeking new directions, notably Martin Luther King.

During the Montgomery bus strike in 1955, King had said, "There go my people. I must catch up with them." More than a decade later and at a new turning point, King was still motivated by these sentiments. Unlike the Panthers, he did not misread the mood of the people in this new phase, often called the "post-civil rights period."

It had become apparent to King that an offensive strategy of new dimensions had to be built. The new situation required the continued and even expanded participation of church and middle-strata forces, including students and professionals, Black and white, that had predominated in

1954-66. But King saw that the basis for regaining the offensive was *working class* strength moving in coalition with the middle class forces. He now directed all his efforts toward involving the working class in a higher level of struggle with the Black Liberation movement—and with the poor and oppressed.

The Communist Party welcomed this historic revolution in Dr. King's leadership, and wholeheartedly supported his efforts to bring about a new strategy and a new alignment of forces. The Communist Party saw this as a profoundly important development, even though Dr. King had not yet demonstrated a full understanding that an offensive strategy to end class exploitation, racist oppression and war demands not only the *strength* of the working class, but also the *leadership* of the working class—Black, Brown, Yellow, Red and white—guided by the science of socialism. It was clearly evident, however, that long before he was assassinated, King had already begun to move toward an anti-imperialist position.

King was also keenly aware of the dangers that faced the movement. For instance, in his historic address—just two months before his death—at the *Freedomways* memorial meeting for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, King warned that racism and imperialism could not be fought with anti-Communism. In addition, his words about DuBois carried an all-important message for today's radical youth:

Above all he did not content himself with hurling invectives for emotional relief and then to retire into smug passive satisfaction. History had taught him it is not enough for people to be angry. The supreme task is to organize and unite people so that their anger becomes a transforming force. (*Freedomways*, Spring, 1968.)

The ruling class did everything in its power to divert and defeat the new direction taken by King. The capitalist mass media went all out to promote the activity and the ideology

of those Black and white radicals for whom King was "too non-violent" and the Communist Party "too conservative."

While Newton, Cleaver and Hilliard waved the Little Red Book and talked of picking up the gun, they were joined in these activities by middle-class white radicals who also came forward with "new" interpretations of Marxism. All of this created diversions and confusion on the campuses, in the ghettos and in the peace movement.

### *The Image-Makers and "Revolution"*

As part of the ruling class efforts to divert the radicalization process, the mass media have popularized the caricature of Marxism-Leninism, appearing in the writings of Mao, Trotsky, Marcuse, Debray, Cleaver, Newton, Tom Hayden, Stokely Carmichael, Rennie Davis and others. At the same time, they have promoted a "revolutionary" image for many of the new radicals.

These Black and white radicals, including Cleaver and Newton, dismissed what they called "orthodox" Marxism. Taking a different direction from King, they disdained the working class and glorified the super-"revolutionary" tactics of confrontation by an anarchistic elite. In this way, these ultra-"revolutionaries" helped create an atmosphere in which the racist monopolists could falsely portray violence as coming from the Left—and cover up the fact that they themselves are the source of it.

The pseudo-militancy of Newton, Cleaver and Hilliard made their own party and its supporters particularly vulnerable to nation-wide genocidal assaults and frameups. And beyond this, their super-revolutionism made the movements for Black liberation and against war and poverty more vulnerable to mounting repressive attacks.

It is apparent that neither Newton nor Cleaver have ever based their tactics on the working class and its revolutionary science, Marxism-Leninism. At the present moment, while

Cleaver's opportunism continues along an ultra-Leftist course and Newton's has taken a Right opportunist form (although he attempts to maintain a Leftist image), both base their policies on the lumpenproletariat.

In order to give some semblance of credibility to the "revolutionary" role they assign the lumpen elements, Newton and Cleaver would have us believe that the Black unemployed, those on welfare, and high school dropouts are all part of the lumpenproletariat. This is an insult to Black men, women and youth. People are not lumpen simply because they are denied jobs, and when Newton and Cleaver make such claims they sound like Black Moynihans.

Today, in the citadel of imperialism in the era of its decline, there is a massive increase in the army of the unemployed. Alongside this, the number of lumpen elements also increases. However, these groups *do not merge*: each has its distinct characteristics. As Marx wrote in *The Class Struggles in France*, the lumpenproletariat "forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat."

Specifically the lumpen elements are those so demoralized by the system that they are not only jobless, but that to them a job is unthinkable. It is their declassed parasitical status and outlook that sharply distinguish them from the great mass of the unemployed, who are searching for and demanding jobs and the opportunity for a decent life. That is why, in addition to making the distinction that Marx emphasized, it is now even more necessary than in Marx's time to clearly distinguish between the lumpenproletariat and the great mass of unemployed, which includes so many youth (particularly Black and Brown) who have never been regularly employed. The following statistics from the sixties foreshadow the vastly greater number of youth who will be forced into this position in the seventies:

It is reported that there are now 50 per cent fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs than there are high school dropouts. Almost one-third of the 26 million young people entering the labor

market in the sixties will be dropouts. But the percentage of the Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over it is 68 per cent. They are without a future." (Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber, eds., *Poverty in America*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1968, p. 622.)

However it is quite evident that the ruling class is not counting on the prediction that the unemployed will passively accept the idea that "they are without a future." Today, the monopolists fear the fact that the struggles of the unemployed, together with the rank-and-file struggles within the unions, will lay the basis for a new upsurge of the working class and the Black liberation movement. The monopolists sense that these struggles will eclipse those of the thirties.

One of the ways in which the ruling class is trying to short-circuit the struggle for jobs and against war and racism is through is barbaric promotion of drugs—in the armed forces (particularly in Vietnam), in the ghettos, among the workers, and among the youth on and off the campuses.

The lumpenproletariat, as Engels noted, includes "elements of all classes." This is particularly evident today as large numbers of students, demoralized by drugs, turn away from struggle and become part of the lumpen sector for the first time in history.

Together with its mass promotion of drugs, the ruling class is promoting anti-working class ideology on a mass scale in new ways. This is why the media have popularized the writings of such individuals as Regis Debray and Herbert Marcuse, whose views have greatly influenced Cleaver, Newton, Hayden, Hoffman, Rubin and other radicals who foster the idea that workers have "a stake in the system." From this starting point Cleaver and Newton have developed the concept that the lumpen sectors, who will resort to anything but work, and not the working class, comprise the vanguard of revolution.

### *Objective Laws of Development*

Those who point to the lumpenproletariat as the revolutionary vanguard disregard the objective laws of historical development. In pre-capitalist societies, poverty and oppression were even greater than under capitalism. But oppression in itself, no matter how great, does not create the basis for the struggle to abolish oppression.

Because of the specific nature of exploitation under capitalism, the working class, which collectively operates the mass production process of the privately owned monopolies, is transformed into the gravedigger of the system. That is why Marx and Engels wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class."

No fundamental change—or even a challenge to the monopolists—can occur without the working class. And today the proportion of Black workers in basic industries such as steel, coal, auto, transport and others is transforming the prospects for the class struggle and Black liberation.

These Black workers, who share the oppression of all Black Americans, also share the exploitation experienced by their fellow white workers. But as compared to these white workers, they are forced to suffer from racist superexploitation that makes sure they have the worst jobs, are always the last hired and the first fired.

The degree of exploitation of Black workers is clearly much greater than that of white workers. Nevertheless, the collective form of exploitation in the decisive mass production industries is suffered by *all* workers. This creates the objective basis for solidarity, for their unity and leadership in the struggle against the monopolist ruling class.

At the same time, history has assigned a doubly significant role to Black workers—as the leaders and backbone of the Black liberation movement, and as a decisive component of the working class leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole.

It is the monopolists' fear of Black, white, Brown, Yellow, Red and working class unity, which in turn can form the basis for still broader people's unity, that is behind racism and anti-Communism, the main ideological weapons of the ruling class.

Leninism, the Marxism of the imperialist epoch, is *the* ideological weapon of the working class. It is the scientific guide that enables the working class to combine its struggle with national liberation movements against imperialism.

No other theory has served to free a single working class, a single people, from imperialism anywhere in the world. Beginning with the October revolution, only those guided by Marxism-Leninism have been able to free themselves from class and national oppression and take the road of socialist construction.

### *"On the Side of the Oppressor"*

Cleaver and Newton have tried to use the writings of Frantz Fanon, whose vantage point was the Algerian and other African liberation movements, to justify their anti-Leninist theory of the role of the lumpenproletariat. They have attempted to apply Fanon's ideas to the U.S., although these ideas in some respects lack Marxist clarity even within the African context for which they were intended. On top of this, Cleaver and Newton have inflated Fanon's positive views on the lumpenproletariat, while completely ignoring his serious reservations about this group.

"Colonialism will also find in the lumpenproletariat a considerable space for maneuvering," Fanon wrote in *The Wretched of the Earth*. There is a danger, he warned, that "the lumpenproletariat will throw itself into battle and will take part in the conflict—but this time on the side of the oppressor." He then stated:

In Algeria it is the lumpenproletariat which furnished the harkis and the messalists; in Angola it supplied the road openers who now precede the Portuguese armed columns; in the Congo, we find once more the lumpenproletariat in regional manifestations in Katai and Katanga, while at Leopoldville, the Congo enemies made use of it to organize spontaneous mass meetings against Lumumba. (Evergreen, New York, 1966, p. 109.)

For ways in which the ruling class can manipulate the lumpen elements, we need only refer to the Panthers' own experience with George Sams, who was used to frame Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins and others. And we should remember that a white lumpen individual was used to assassinate Martin Luther King, while black ones were recruited to murder Malcolm X. And we should also recall the German monopolists' manipulation of Van der Lubbe to frame Georgi Dimitrov as part of their drive to launch a genocidal war for world domination.

The Cleaver-Newton theory of the lumpenproletariat as vanguard would mean objective surrender to the ruling class because only the working class can lead the fight against poverty and exploitation. And not only does this theory fail to offer an offensive strategy for liberation; without working-class leadership of the struggle, the lumpen victims themselves will not be provided with even their own barest needs.

It is ironic that, while some Panthers glorify the lumpenproletariat, at least one Panther leader takes pride in his working-class background and skills. In his book *Seize the Time*, Bobby Seale states that his father was a master carpenter, and that he himself is a carpenter, a draftsman and "a top-flight sheet-metal mechanic."

We fervently hope that Bobby Seale will vindicate his well-founded pride by using his outstanding ability to help chart a working-class path of struggle for millions of Black youth, in contrast to the course Newton and Cleaver adopted while Seale was in prison.

### *Incredible Thrust Backward*

Between mid-April and the end of May, 1971, Huey P. Newton became increasingly frank in describing his new course. What he only hinted at in the April 17 *Black Panther*, he made astoundingly clear in the May 29 issue, when he described what he calls a "survival program," i.e., survival through "Black capitalism."

Announcing that the Panthers will now operate factories in ghettos, he went on to say: "We will have no overhead because our collective—we'll exploit our collective by making them work free. We'll do this not just to justify ourselves, like philanthropists, to save someone from going without shoes, even though this is part of the cause of our problems. People make the revolution; we will give the process a forward thrust. If we suffer from genocide, we won't be around to change things. So in this way our survival program is very practical."

Far from being either "practical" or a "forward thrust," this is an incredibly reactionary thrust *backward*. By comparison with Newton's "survival program," Booker T. Washington's philosophy sounds positively revolutionary!

Newton, however, tries to justify his retreat into the past with the following explanation: "We can jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything, which is not true, the system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is for it to correct itself as much as it can do and after that if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary then we'll think about reorganizing things."

Well, this is a pretty late date to advise the oppressed and exploited to call off their struggles and wait to see if "the system can correct itself"! Why should the people surrender to still more racism and oppression in order to learn what they already know—that the system "can correct itself" only through wars, increased racism, poverty and exploitation.



While in the past Newton did indeed jump ahead of the people's needs, he has now leaped far behind them. He misread the mood of the people and mistook their real needs when he talked of "picking up the gun" from 1966 through early 1971. Now he is again misreading their mood and ignoring their real needs, when in effect he tells them to surrender to racist oppression and accept a "survival" concept based on his anti-working class theories and glorification, in the same breath, of the lumpenproletariat and of capitalism.

Newton offers the people mini-enclaves of Black capitalism in the form of ghetto sweatshops across the country. But what Black people want is an *end* to the ghettos. During slavery, the underground railroad established way stations to meet the basic survival needs of Blacks escaping from the South. In today's context, a defensive "survival" strategy cannot possibly serve the people, for whom way stations cannot provide an escape. The vast scope of Black Americans' needs today can be met only by an offensive strategy.

Black Americans have a first and equal claim on the *total* economy of the country—which they helped build with 400 years of slave and near-slave labor—for billions for jobs, housing, medical care, education, etc. They want the *total* economy turned around to meet the people's needs, instead of operating for the wars and the profits of a handful of corporate monopolists.

When in 1968 Martin Luther King warned radicals that super-militancy often ends in accommodation, he seems to have prophesied Huey P. Newton's latest move. After "hurling" super-revolutionary rhetoric for six years, it appears that Newton will now "retire into small passive satisfaction" while Black people are given the prospect of working in the ghetto under racist sweatshop conditions.

In *Seize the Time*, Bobby Seale attacked Ron Karenga for operating "little jive businesses" in the Black community. "Ron Karenga," wrote Seale, "had no intention before and has no intention now of working in opposition to the power

structure to change the system for the needs of Black America." (Random House, New York, 1970, p. 273.)

We truly hope that Seale will recall these words because they aptly describe Newton's "survival program." No matter how Newton may later attempt to portray his new enterprises—as collectives, cooperatives, etc.—he cannot disguise the fact that they offer Black people no hope.

### *Accommodation—or Struggle*

Neither Newton's nor Cleaver's concept of a "survival program" is in the interests of the people. While Cleaver expresses the ultra-Leftist face of opportunism—"urban guerilla warfare now"—Newton's opportunism takes a different form.

Describing his "survival program," Newton says: "We serve [the people's] needs so they can survive oppression. Then, when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious things will happen." (*Black Panther*, April, 1971) In other words, Newton would have us believe that accommodation today will lead to revolution tomorrow!

Both the "survival program" Newton-style ("wait until the masses are ready to pick up the gun") and the "survival program" Cleaver-style ("pick up the gun now!") objectively amount to the same thing—desertion of the people's struggles.

The cause of liberation cannot be served by a negative idea—"survival" pending a future day when "serious things will happen." What is needed is a *struggle* program for the immediate interests of the people and for their ultimate liberation from capitalist, racist oppression.

Marx and Engels taught that the salvation of the exploited requires an ever-expanding unity in struggle even so much as to retard the downward spiral of exploitation and oppression. This concept is even more acutely relevant today. By contrast the idea of a "survival program" evokes passivity



and demoralizes the people. To justify his "survival" concept, which would divert the Black liberation movement from an offensive anti-monopoly strategy, Huey P. Newton has developed a classless approach to capitalist democracy. It is amazing to read his description of democracy in the May 29 issue of the *Black Panther*. This is the way he puts it: "Democracy in America (bourgeois democracy) means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority."

It is indeed strange to find one who regards himself as a dialectical materialist speaking of bourgeois democracy as "the domination of the majority over the minority." In the sphere of social science, dialectical materialism relates not to struggle in general but to the struggle of classes.

Because he does not relate dialectics to the class struggle, Newton fails to explain that his is a society in which state monopoly capitalism rules; that there is a class of exploiters exercising state power to defend its class interests; that there is national oppression maintained by this class.

In the same article, Newton also states that the majority has "decreed" that the minority "fight and die in wars." He dares make this claim at a time when even the polls show that considerably more than 70 per cent of the people want immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

It is certainly not the majority but the ruling-class minority that has "decreed" the imperialist aggression in Indochina and in the Middle East, and which threatens thermonuclear war against peaceful states and peoples, and first of all against the socialist camp, which supports anti-imperialist liberation struggles throughout the world. In the 1930's the threat of war came from Nazi Germany; today it comes from the U.S. monopolists—and Newton would have us believe that the majority has "decreed" it!

But not only do the polls show that there is an anti-war majority. They also show that within this anti-war majority

there is another majority—one with the potential to bring to an end to the war in Indochina and, moreover, to imperialism itself.

This majority within the majority is made up of the overwhelming percentage of white workers and the still greater percentage of Black Americans who oppose the war. For the first time in U.S. history, the people, though not effectively organized, are in motion against the genocidal aggression of U.S. imperialism.

How then can Huey Newton, who apparently considers himself a revolutionary, speak of democracy in the U.S. as the rule of a majority (white masses) over the minority (Black masses)? How can he deny and cover up the rule of a tiny minority of monopolists who worsen the condition of the people, who fan racial strife between Black and white, Black and Chicano, Black and Puerto Rican, Black and Indian, and of course between whites and all who are Black, Brown, Red or Yellow?

So-called revolutionary rhetoric cannot hide this monstrous error which omits the class nature of society, which denies capitalism as the source of racism, and the monopolists' use of racism, along with anti-Communism, to exploit and oppress the masses. Such rhetoric is a disservice to all those, irrespective of color, who are fighting for peace, democracy and the well-being of the people.

Huey P. Newton engages in demagoguery when he claims that there is a struggle between a majority of whites and a minority of Blacks. He lumps the white monopolists (a minority) with the white working class majority (and sections of the middle strata).

He fails to identify the monopolists (a white minority), and he does this in a way unbecoming to a revolutionary—by lumping the exploited majority of white workers with the oppressing minority of white monopolists. Revolutionaries must understand that this is the traditional method of accommodating to the imperialist enemy of change.

### ***"The Building of the Machine"***

In the June 5 *Black Panther*, Huey P. Newton reveals the full nature of his projected Black capitalist course. "In the past," writes Newton, "the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism." Now, however, Newton sees a revolutionary role for Black capitalism.

He outlines a program in which Black Panther clothing and shoe factories and medical programs will be assisted by "contributions" from Black capitalists. In exchange, the Panthers will call upon the community to patronize the businesses of these Black capitalists.

"Black capitalists," states Newton, will have "the potential to contribute to the building of the *machine* which will serve the true interests of the people and end all oppression." (Emphasis added—H.W.) One can get an idea of the kind of "machine" Newton intends to build from the following admission: In the past, he writes, "we received money for our survival programs from the big, white capitalists."

Perhaps this admission also casts light on some of the reasons why Newton complained, in his April 17 article, that "our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community because they did not guide the white community." It now becomes clear that he prefers instead to have "access" to white capitalists—whom he identifies not as the exploiters of Black and white workers, but as the "guides" of the "white community."

Newton cannot, however, camouflage the fact that his "access" to white corporate capital means that he is continuing to serve the monopolists at the expense of Black Americans and all working people. One need not hesitate to predict that his new form of accommodation to the white capitalist "guides" will be exposed far more rapidly than his previous super-revolutionary services to the same forces.

Black people are in a unique position. On top of more than 200 years of chattel slavery, operated by the slave-owner partners of emergent capitalism, they have had over 100 years of capitalist exploitation, racism, war and poverty.

And now Newton echoes the monopolists responsible for the oppression and exploitation of Black people who are saying that the problems of the system will be solved if only a few more Black people become capitalists. The capitalists who say this are, of course, the same ones who have set up every type of barrier against those Blacks who have tried to establish small businesses over the years.

And it is particularly ironic that the "invitation" to Black people to become capitalists should come from the very same corporate monopolists who have already destroyed most of the nation's small businesses. Those that still remain, whether white- or Black-owned, can operate only under the impossible conditions of monopoly domination.

Not only have the mass production industries come under the control of corporate monopoly. Through their control of the banks, chains, franchising operations, insurance and real estate companies, etc., these same monopolists dominate *all* sectors of the economy, including that in the Black community.

Now, in an effort to recruit a sector of Blacks to support the ruling class against their own people, the monopolists have offered a tiny minority the illusion of Black capitalism. This is another variation of the tokenism rejected by the Black masses.

Yet we must keep in mind that the Black bourgeoisie is oppressed by the same monopolists who exploit and oppress the Black people as a whole. It is within this context that Communists—who are opposed to capitalist exploitation, whether by white- or Black-owned business—support the anti-monopolist demands of Black capitalists.

Access to the handful of giant corporations and banks which control the nation's economy promotes the myth of "Black capitalism" as a crude attempt to convince Black

people that anyone can still "make it" in the U.S. The monopolists do this in order to divert the Black liberation movement from its true course. At a time when one-third of the workers in the great mass production industries are Black, the future of the liberation movement lies in united struggle with all the oppressed and exploited against the common enemy, the monopolists.

In outlining the Panthers' Black capitalist course, Newton states that the party's new programs "satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." He then goes on to develop his concept of the revolutionary role of Black capitalists:

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggles of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group, even though they are exploiters. Therefore, the people are in a better position to wipe the national bourgeoisie away after they have assisted the people in wiping out the foreign exploiters. (*Black Panther*, June 5, 1971.)

With this brazen misappropriation and misuse of Marxist terminology, Newton tries to put a revolutionary stamp on his scheme to build a machine that will serve the "foreign" U.S. monopolists at the expense of the marginal Black capitalists and all Black people—including the most victimized of capitalism's victims, the lumpenproletariat.

In accordance with Newton's theory of the revolutionary role of the lumpen elements, the lumpen victims will be rewarded with free handouts from the party. In return, they

will form a machine that, to understate the matter, can serve no good purpose in the Black liberation movement.

At the same time, Newton proposes that all strata of Black Americans remain within the ghetto enclaves "pending" revolution. He is asking that they give up the only struggle that can benefit all Black Americans, including the middle classes: a united struggle with all exploited and oppressed people to win the only "territory" upon which Black people can gain their liberation in the United States—that is, the entire country and its economy.

In the former colonies of Africa and other countries, it was the foreign settler who lived in enclaves within the oppressed peoples' lands. In the U.S., the white corporate oppressors have forced Black people into the enclaves where Newton suggests they remain until the revolution in which the Black minority frees itself by fighting the white majority. This is the blind alley into which Newton urges Black people. But Black Americans can be liberated only through a joint struggle with all the oppressed and exploited against the white corporate minority.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the anti-imperialist phase of the revolutionary process opens the way to the transition to socialism. In the United States, the revolutionary process demands the building of a great anti-monopoly movement led by contingents of Black, white, Brown, Red and Yellow workers to break monopolist control of the government. It is the only path offering a perspective for the Black liberation movement, though some "revolutionaries" refuse to recognize this.

Some look for short cuts ("instant" revolution), while others devise "survival" programs pending the day when revolution comes magically into being. In actuality, both concepts are anti-revolutionary diversions from the *centrality* of the anti-monopoly strategy at this stage of the revolutionary process.

### *The Future Determines Its Own Tactics*

To help preserve his "revolutionary" image while introducing his Black capitalist "survival program," Newton makes use of the "when they are ready to pick up the gun" concept. But, shorn of its rhetoric, this is the equivalent of saying, "Since the masses are not yet ready to pick up the gun, we will table the question of picking up the gun until the masses are ready to put it on the agenda." This is simply another way of creating passivity and compounding frustration.

The "when they are ready to pick up the gun" idea has also been expressed by others on the Left. Even some avowed Marxists have reflected views that represent an accommodation to, rather than a struggle against, this concept. But such views are in contradiction to the program of the Communist Party, to the Marxist-Leninist principles on which the Party is based.

In his April 17 article, Newton stated that Cleaver's concept of "instant" revolution was a "fantasy." But the idea of "picking up the gun when the masses are ready" is no less a fantasy. Tomorrow's tactics cannot be determined today. Future struggles, although they will be influenced by the outcome of today's, will, depending on the concrete conditions that exist then, determine the tactics that go on tomorrow's agenda.

Focusing on the gun in the future leads to frustration in the present. It carries the implication that any method short of the gun is inadequate or futile, amounting to no more than a holding operation until the real thing happens—merely a question of firing blanks until at long last reaching the point of "picking up the gun."

This same idea is also expressed in a slightly different form by other individuals on the Left. According to one such view, "the possibilities of peaceful struggle have not yet been exhausted." This formulation implies that while armed struggle is not "yet" on the agenda, a revolutionary strategy

must be based on the assumption that it will inevitably be placed there.

This view operates on the fatalistic notion that no matter what changes occur in the relationship of forces on a national and world scale, the working class and its allies will inevitably exhaust their capacity to prevent the ruling class from imposing armed struggle on the revolutionary process. This view, like its variants, differs from Cleaver's concepts of armed struggle only in emphasis and timing, since it too presupposes the inevitability of armed struggle as the only form of revolution, of transition to liberation and socialism.

Against such erroneous views, Lenin wrote:

Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become more acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied forms of defense and attack . . .

In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national, cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in turn. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 213-214.)

Marx, Engels and Lenin fought against ideas that foreclosed the possibility of varying forms of revolutionary struggle in the transition to socialism. They rejected both the Right opportunist illusion that the transition would inevitably be peaceful, and the "Left" opportunism that proclaimed armed struggle as the only path to socialism for every country.

Today's Right opportunists also predict that armed struggle will not be necessary, while the "Left" opportunists predict that it will be inevitable. Marxism-Leninism opposes both the *will* and the *won't* of these two faces of opportunism, both of which tend to disarm the mass struggle.

While opposing "Left" concepts of the inevitability of armed struggle, Communist strategy simultaneously opposes Right opportunist illusions that transition to socialism is possible without the sharpest class struggles combined with the struggles of all the oppressed to curb and defeat the power of racist monopoly.

As Lenin wrote, "To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 214.)

### *The "Most Extraordinary Privilege"*

"Super-revolutionaries" are quick to shout "revisionist" at those who are guided by Lenin's views regarding different paths to socialism.

By contrast, Le Duan, Ho Chi Minh's close comrade and successor, who has been at the center of more than 30 years of armed struggle against imperialism, emphasizes that "Lenin, like Marx, was much concerned about the possibility of peacefully seizing power by the working class."

Even before the October revolution, states Le Duan, Lenin believed that "Communists should do everything to strive for [peaceful transition] as long as a real possibility existed, even though the chances are one in a hundred."

Specifically, after state power had been transferred to the bourgeoisie by the February 1917 revolution, Lenin saw the possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the working class. "Lenin," says Le Duan, "proposed the tactics of the

peaceful development of the revolution. . . . When conditions changed, after July, and there was no longer the peaceful possibility, Lenin changed tactics and prepared for armed revolution."

Now that the October Revolution has led to a world system of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, forming the primary contradiction to imperialism, the possibilities for differing forms of revolutionary transition to socialism are increasing. This also means that forms of revolutionary transition that were rare in Lenin's time may become more frequent in the present epoch.

At the heart of the ultra-Leftists' errors is a lack of understanding of how the socialist countries have altered the prospects for class and national liberation within the prison of imperialism. They maintain, for example, that the Cuban experience represents the only valid type of transition to socialism. As Fidel Castro points out, these ultra-Leftists are a part of a "whole series of negators of Lenin [who] have emerged since the October Revolution." Amplifying this view, Castro states:

Today, there are, as we know, theoretical super-revolutionaries, super-Leftists, veritable "supermen" if you will, who can destroy imperialism in a jiffy with their tongues. There are many super-revolutionaries lacking all notions of reality about the problems and difficulties of a revolution. They are prompted by sentiments carefully fostered by imperialism and are full of fierce hatred. It is as if they refused to forgive the Soviet Union its existence, and this from "Left-wing" positions. They would like a Soviet Union shaped according to their strange model, according to their ridiculous ideals. Yet a country is primarily a reality, one made up of numerous other realities.

The exponents of these trends forget the incredible initial difficulties of the revolutionary process in the Soviet Union, the incredible initial difficulties of the revolutionary process in the Soviet Union, the incredible problems arising from the blockade, isolation and fascist aggression. They pretend not to know

anything about all this and regard the existence of the Soviet Union as almost a crime, and this from "Left-wing" positions, which is an act of absolute dishonesty.

They forget the problems of Cuba, of Vietnam, of the Arab world. They forget that wherever imperialism is striking its blows it comes up against a country which sends the people the arms they need to defend themselves. We recall Playa Giron these days. We well remember the anti-aircraft artillery, the tanks and guns and mortars and other weapons that enabled us to smash the mercenaries.

This means that the existence of the Soviet state is objectively one of the most extraordinary privileges of the revolutionary movement. (*Granma*, May 3, 1970.)

Shortly after the October revolution, Lincoln Steffens, the U.S. journalist, visited the Soviet Union and said, "I have seen the future and it works." And now, as Castro has shown, this revolution not only "works" for the Soviet people, it works for all oppressed humanity. It is the single most important force in the world working in support of liberation everywhere—a "most extraordinary privilege" constantly creating "extraordinary" changes in the revolutionary process on a world scale. It creates new opportunities for class and national liberation struggles that cannot be contained within the preconceived molds of pseudo-theorists, or by the desperate repressions of neo-colonialist imperialism.

While the pseudo-theorists cling to the single idea of "picking up the gun," the Chilean Popular Unity coalition, with a solid working-class base led by the Communist Party, pursues an opposite tactic—aimed *not* at "picking up the gun," but at *preventing* the internal oligarchy and its imperialist patrons from doing so. This tactic combines maximum internal strength with anti-imperialist unity on a world scale.

If, however, the oligarchy together with U.S. imperialism should at some point resort to "picking up the gun," the advantage would nevertheless remain with those who have adapted Leninist tactics which apply to each stage of the struggle.

The imperialists have always been the first to pick up the gun—including in Vietnam. If they repeat this pattern in Chile, victory—as in Vietnam—will nevertheless belong to those who recognize that power comes not out of the barrel of a gun but out of the unity of the masses in struggle against the imperialism which picks up the gun.



## THE MEANING OF SAN RAFAEL

Under the Nixon doctrine, U.S. imperialism not only imposed the most barbarous war in history upon the peoples of Indochina. It has simultaneously brought the most advanced capitalist country, the last stronghold of racist imperialism, to a crisis of increasing magnitude at home and on a world scale. Its military genocide in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is increasingly reflected in social and economic genocide and repression at home. And even its allies in Europe and elsewhere are fearful lest the dollar crisis involve their own countries in even more critical inflation, unemployment and poverty.

In the U.S., a new level of struggle against the war and its consequences is emerging. An ever-widening majority is turning against the Nixon attempt to "solve" the crisis at the expense of the people. Working people, including rank-and-file trade unionists, together with Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano masses, Vietnam veterans, women, students and others are moving into action.

Now, more than ever, the working class—Black, Brown and white—needs a guiding ideology that will enable it to

*This chapter was published as a pamphlet by New Outlook Publishers in August, 1971*

transform the diverse struggles against war, poverty and racism into unity against the monopolist enemy. The enemy is trying to prevent such unity with its three-sided weapon of anti-Communism, racism and repression—all of which have been brought into play in the frameup of Angela Davis.

### *A Revealing Continuity*

There is a revealing continuity in motive and timing behind the frameup of Angela Davis and the assassinations of Malcom X and Martin Luther King.

Malcolm X was murdered by the racist establishment, using a police agent to penetrate his personal bodyguard, at the very moment he was turning away from separatism, against capitalism, and toward united mass struggle.

Dr. King was gunned down when he began to identify imperialism as the source of racism, poverty and war, and was translating this deeper understanding into an opposition of new dimensions to poverty and racist oppression at home, and the related imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He was linking these movements with the Black workers' struggle to organize, and was pressing for the unity of workers of all colors as the essential force for meaningful change and liberation.

When Angela Davis affirmed her membership in the Communist Party, her UCLA teaching post was taken away from her. When the brilliant young Black professor continued to intensify her social and political activity outside the classroom, the plot to murder her in the gas chamber was initiated. The racist ruling class could not tolerate the meaning, the inspiration, to the nation's exploited and oppressed, of Angela's membership in the Party based on the liberating principles of Marxism-Leninism. Angela Davis was right when she said, "They have taken my job. Now they want to take my life." By dedicating herself not only to explaining the world but to changing it, Angela Davis won the love of millions—and the hatred of the ruling class.

Today, the need to build a mass movement to free Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, the Berrigan Brothers and Arnold Johnson—Catholic and Communist peace leaders, the Soledad Brothers, Ruchell Magee and all political prisoners is a vital starting point for speeding the formation of a great, popular movement to turn back the forces aiming to push the country into fascism. (This was written prior to the dismissal of charges against Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven on May 25, 1971.)

### *"Part of the Solution"—or "Part of the Problem"?*

It is within this context that many of those involved in the liberation struggle have expressed their concern with Eldridge Cleaver's attack on Angela Davis and the Communist Party.

Of equal concern is the fact that some leading figures in the Black Panther Party have broken organizationally with Cleaver but have not yet made the break with his philosophy, which does such harm to the Black Panther Party and to the fight for Black liberation and against poverty and war.

Some leading Black Panthers are now jeopardizing the fight against racism and the defense of political prisoners by combining their public attacks on Cleaver with invention of "new" arguments and rationalizations for anti-Communism.

Ironically, those in the movement who promote anti-Communism are picking up the traditional weapon of their racist imperialist oppressors. And when anti-Communism is encouraged by individuals who consider themselves militant fighters against imperialism, it becomes an even more disruptive weapon than when directly wielded by the ruling class and its mass media. No one can fight racism with anti-Communism. To fight racism, one must oppose and expose anti-Communism. There is no other way to liberation—in this country or any part of the world.

That the influence of Cleaver's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet ideology extends to many leading figures in the Black Panther Party, as well as others on the Left, is particularly evident in much of the current discussion about the meaning of the San Rafael incident.

Too much of this discussion reflects Cleaver's views—which unfortunately are “part of the problem” rather than “part of the solution.” Cleaver—echoed by some others—insists that the movement must “focus” on San Rafael as an exemplary “act of revolutionary violence.” “Only through actions,” he asserts, “can we take our freedom and liberation.”

Under cover of such “super-revolutionary” rhetoric, Cleaver in fact calls for the abandonment of struggle in the courts and the development of mass defense movements. He becomes an advocate of capitulation, of hopeless surrender to the government and the courts that are trampling upon the rights and lives of the political prisoners and of all the people.

Elitist, adventurist, anarchist tactics—individual terrorist actions of “revolutionary” suicide—cannot free political prisoners or advance the cause of liberation. Such tactics, or any form of accommodation to them—no matter who advances them—regrettably mesh with government provocations aimed at disorganizing the mass movement, which is the only basis for freeing political prisoners and achieving liberation.

### *The Nixon-Reagan “Focus”*

Nixon and Reagan are also doing everything in their power to “focus” on such acts as the San Rafael incident. They have framed Angela, falsely linking her to this tragedy to divert the “focus” from their own responsibility for the conditions that create acts of desperation. At the same time, in framing Angela the racist ruling class seeks to falsely

identify violence with the Left in order to camouflage the ruling class itself as the real source of violence.

Those who plot the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for Angela Davis, Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins do so in order to take the country further along the road to fascism than in the McCarthyite era.

Those who are sincerely concerned for the lives of Angela, Bobby and Ericka must reject every form of accommodation to Cleaver's anarchist advocacy of San Rafael. Far from helping to win freedom, such views could open the door to the gas chamber and the electric chair for Nixon's political prisoners.

### *“Tactical Diversity” and “Picking up the Gun”*

There are also some of the Left who “differ” with the view that San Rafael and other forms of “picking up the gun” are the only valid methods of struggle. Instead, these individuals advocate what they term “tactical diversity”—in reality a perversion of the concept of flexibility into an open-ended invitation to sheer adventurism.

Those who play with adventurist concepts have learned nothing from the experience of the Black Panther Party. The Black Panthers' rhetoric, focusing on “power coming out of the barrel of a gun,” helps only the ruling class. Calling for confrontations with the police supplants mass struggle against the enemy, who controls the economy, the government and the police.

The Black Panther Party became a focal point for FBI provocateurs and an easy target for nationwide frameups and genocidal attacks not because of the courage and militancy of its young members (although they possess these qualities in abundance), but because the party's anti-Marxist, adventurist policies isolated it from the people and made it vulnerable to attack. Even more important, these policies helped make the total struggle against poverty, racism and war more vulnerable to enemy attack.

Further, the assaults on the Panthers resulted in the tragic loss of some of the movement's best young fighters. The people cannot afford the sacrifice of Black youth like Fred Hampton, Bobby Hutton, and Jonathan Jackson. This is another vital reason why the struggle for liberation must be guided not by emotion but by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

But those who advocate "tactical diversity" refuse to recognize these facts. Instead, they maintain that "tactical diversity" should include San Rafaels and other forms of "picking up the gun" provided that these tactics are not the "primary" or "sole" form of struggle, but are clearly linked with the mass movement. "The final significance of Jonathan's revolt," in the words of one who advocates this view, "was its clear connection with the mass movement—certainly a revolutionary act."

While these words may seem to have a bold new ring, in reality they represent a revival of pre-Marxist variants of anarchism rejected by Marx, Engels and Lenin. For example, in 1902, 19-year-old Stephan Balmashov, a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party—which considered Lenin and his Party too conservative—assassinated Dmitri Sipyagin, the Tsar's Minister of Interior. The Socialist Revolutionaries immediately issued a leaflet supporting Balmashov's act—which sounds as if it could have been written by one of those who advocate more San Rafaels. Lenin took a major part of two issues (Nos. 23, 24) of *Iskra*, a revolutionary journal, to answer the views expressed in this leaflet.

"The first thing that strikes the eye," he wrote, "is the words, 'we advocate terrorism, not in place of work among the masses, but precisely for and simultaneously with that work.'" If this view were accepted, he continued, "all that history has taught will fall to the ground." He said further:

... the Socialist-Revolutionaries are talking themselves blue in the face in asseverating that they recognize terrorism only in conjunction with work among the masses, and that therefore

the arguments used by the Russian Social-Democrats to refute the efficacy of this method of struggle (and which have indeed been refuted for a long time to come) do not apply to them. . . . We are not repeating the terrorists' mistakes and are not diverting attention from work among the masses, the Socialist-Revolutionaries assure us, and at the same time enthusiastically recommend to the Party acts such as Balmashov's assassination of Sipyagin, although everyone knows and sees perfectly well that this act was in no way connected with the masses and, moreover, could not have been by reason of the very way in which it was carried out—that the persons who committed this terrorist act neither counted on nor hoped for any definite action or support on the part of the masses. In their naivete, the Socialist-Revolutionaries do not realize that their predilection for terrorism is causally most intimately linked with the fact that, from the very outset, they have always kept, and still keep, aloof from the working-class movement, without even attempting to become a party of the revolutionary class which is waging its class struggle. (*Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961-1970, Vol. 6, p. 189.)

There is an irreconcilable contradiction between isolated terrorist acts and mass struggle.

Today, in the context of our country, the San Rafael events must be seen as an act resulting from frustration. Jonathan Jackson "neither counted on nor hoped" to relate his act to the mass movement. In fact, Jonathan's vastly courageous act must be considered in this light. Jonathan, along with Ruchell Magee, James McClain and William Christmas, took this path in the desperate and mistaken hope of finding a shortcut to expose conditions which prevail in the prison system. That system also unjustly and illegally holds Jonathan's brother. At 17, Jonathan did not yet realize that in the battle for class and national liberation there are no shortcuts, no substitutes for militant class struggle.

That is why Jonathan Jackson's action was one of futile self-sacrifice. The act that resulted in his tragic loss to the

movement, and in the frameup of Angela Davis and her removal from the scene as a dedicated leader of the mass struggle, simultaneously jeopardized Jonathan's aim—to dramatize the cause of freedom for his brother George and for all political prisoners.

The brutality of the racist ruling class is boundless. It is not enough for this class—with its institutions of exploitation, oppression and repression—to drive the Jonathan Jacksons into self-defeating acts of desperation. Its strategy also calls for a form of double jeopardy—exploiting the desperate acts themselves in order to defeat the mass struggle.

Those who fail to see through this strategy of the ruling class, and instead indulge in "super-revolutionary" rhetoric, obstruct rather than build the movement to free Angela Davis and all political prisoners.

This movement is an integral part of the struggle for an *alternative* for millions of Jonathan Jacksons caught between the dead-end pressures of rat and drug-infested ghettos and unemployment, or forced service in a racist war. These millions want an alternative to genocide in *all* its forms, and toward this end, white allies have a special responsibility.

Although the rhetoric of some would lead one to think otherwise, their role is *not* to provide a cheering section for genocide in the form of "revolutionary" suicide. Their role is to join in building the united mass movement to end racism. They cannot meet this responsibility without rejecting all forms of "super-revolutionism," which results in accommodation to, rather than struggle against, racism.

### *The Dangers of False Analogies*

Some people create inapplicable analogies between the past and present, pointing to the deeds of Nat Turner or of John Brown and his Black comrades-in-arms. They advance the mistaken view that San Rafael is an example of a revolutionary act today.

However, no analogy can mechanically be made between San Rafael and any previous event in the history of the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. In the fight for correct tactics, it is essential to understand that analogies often limp and are certainly inadequate unless accompanied by concrete analysis of each situation within its historic context.

Let us consider the context within which such events as the Turner Rebellion and John Brown's Raid occurred.

The American War of Independence, which Lenin hailed as "one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars," embodied a victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution. However, its historic task was not completed. Instead, it ended with the grafting of an historically outmoded system of slavery onto emerging capitalism. Hence there remained as a prime necessity the task of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution by putting an end to chattel slavery. The accelerating succession of slave revolts, which began before the Revolutionary War and continued after independence, was a vital component of the inevitable struggle to achieve this goal.

The heroic actions led by Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and countless others dramatized the slaves' unceasing will to struggle for freedom. They also reflected the objective character of the slave system, which made it impossible for the slaves to mount a coordinated offensive for liberation, since the character of the production process and the form of exploitation made impossible communication and unity of action between slaves on different plantations.

From top to bottom, every facet of the slave system was geared to suppress the unending resistance of the slaves. This resistance took on many forms, including slowdowns and runaway slaves as everyday occurrences. The Underground Railway for escaping slaves developed as a unique form of resistance and solidarity between slaves and non-slaves, between Black and white.

More and more frequently, resistance culminated in slave revolts, the *highest* form that struggle could take within the

separated slave camps known as plantations. Because the marriage between capitalism and slavery enabled the slave-owners to manipulate the federal government, the ruling class was able to confront the slaves with overwhelming power. Thanks to this, together with the intrinsic nature of the slave system, the slave revolts were inevitably fragmented and limited to isolated outbursts of resistance.

Yet these struggles were not diversions but were part of the central historical process of the times. Their accumulating impact profoundly *accelerated* the economic, political and social forces of that historical process—inside and outside the South—leading to the “irrepressible conflict.”

### *Impact of Wider Developments*

By contrast, in the North wider possibilities for struggle by former slaves and emerging working-class forces existed, and at the time, the slave resistance was stimulated and accelerated by the wider developments outside the slave area. For example, Turner's Rebellion came four years after the appearance of *Freedom's Journal* in New York, the first Black newspaper; two years after *Walker's Appeal*, written by David Walker, a free Black man in New York; and only a few months after the meeting in Philadelphia of the first National Negro Convention.

Turner's Rebellion in 1831 signalled the opening of the era of abolitionist struggle, while John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859—according to Frederick Douglass and W. E. B. DuBois—marked the beginning of the Civil War. Between these two events, the effectiveness of both Black and white abolitionist forces in influencing the course of history was increasingly determined by their ability to relate to the wider political developments, that is, by their exertion of their *independent* influence on the struggle between the rising capitalist system and the declining slave system, for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

By the start of the decade before the Civil War, Frederick Douglass, only twelve years after his escape from slavery, had become the outstanding abolitionist leader in the country. He had emerged into this pre-eminent role because of his deep understanding of the need to combine every anti-slavery current with the *centrality* of the wider struggle—the forging of a political realignment to break the power of the slavocracy over the federal government. Douglass saw this as the precondition for the destruction of slavery.

### *“Only National Force . . . ”*

That Douglass' overriding goal was to bring about the greatest political realignment as a prerequisite for meeting the armed aggression being prepared by the slave power—and that this accounted for his decision not to join John Brown at Harper's Ferry—has been confirmed by Dr. DuBois:

Why did Douglass not join John Brown? . . . He knew, as only a Negro slave can know, the tremendous might and organization of the slave power. . . . Only national force could dislodge national slavery . . . (*John Brown*, International Publishers, New York, 1962, p. 344.)

Yet, Douglass did not fail to note the connection between the Raid on Harper's Ferry and the wider struggle. He said in 1882: “If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did, at least, begin the war that ended slavery. . . . When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared, the armed hosts of freedom stood face to face over the chasm of a broken Union, and the clash of arms was at hand.” (Speech at Storey College, Harper's Ferry, Virginia.)

Thus, Douglass came to view the Harper's Ferry Raid, occurring as it did within the slave territory, as consistent with the slave revolts that preceded it. The action of John



Brown and Shields Green—an escaped slave—and their comrades was, in fact, the climax to the long pattern of slave revolts. Harper's Ferry made its impact, then, against the background of Douglass' wider strategy, which culminated in national resistance to the slave power.

### *They Ignore the Context*

Today some radicals point to Douglass' support of the slave revolts and the many abolitionist struggles that led to confrontations in the North, while ignoring his overall political strategy and overlooking the wide mass character of the non-electoral struggles which influenced the developing political realignment. In this way they attempt to justify actions that, within today's context, divert from, rather than reinforce, mass struggle.

During the fight against the Fugitive Slave Law, for instance, there were many struggles that developed into direct mass confrontations to rescue fugitive slaves picked up by federal marshals in the North. Douglass, of course, supported these actions!

Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law—widely recognized as an extension of aggression by the slave power—generated the broadest resistance and unity between Black and white of the abolitionist era.

Struggles to prevent kidnapping of escaped slaves under the Fugitive Slave Law were not undertaken by elite "vanguard" groups substituting for the masses. Thus, these struggles did not divert from but spearheaded, broadened and *accelerated* the work of the abolitionist forces, aimed at achieving a political realignment to take the federal government out of the hands of the slavocracy.

Some of today's radicals not only overlook the fact that these struggles took place within a fast emerging revolutionary situation. They also ignore the mass character of these rescue actions: anti-manhunt and vigilance committees had

sprung up in every area of the North, involving the broadest strata of the population, and representing the peak of unity and influence of the abolitionist movement.

In Boston in 1854, for instance, the struggle to rescue a slave, Anthony Burns, from federal marshals has been described as without parallel in that city since the days of the Revolutionary War. Men from all over the state, including a large number of Blacks, poured into Boston to stop the slave-hunters. There was a great mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, from which the rescue operation was launched, organized by Wendell Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Robert Morris, Boston's outstanding Black attorney. Over 50,000 participated in a street demonstration, during which the Commonwealth Building displayed flags draped in black and flown at half mast.

Such mass resistance to the slave power continued to the point where South Carolina in 1860, just two months after Lincoln's election, withdrew from the Union. In initiating secession, South Carolina asserted that the non-slaveholding states had permitted "agitation" which had "been steadily increasing until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common government." (John Daniels, *In Freedom's Place*, The New York Times and Arno Press, New York, 1969, p. 66.)

If the "common government" headed by Lincoln did not fully reflect the aspirations of the most advanced abolitionist forces, it nevertheless vindicated Douglass' strategy by putting "national force" against the slave power.

An example of the effect of Douglass' strategy in the pre-Civil War period, his insistence that the abolitionists exert their independent influence in every possible way on the broader political alignments, can be seen in the following resolution passed by a group of Blacks in Boston in 1856:

Resolved, That while we regard the Republican Party as the people's party, the resolve in the Republican platform endorsing the Kansas free State Constitution, which prohibits colored

men from going into that territory, and the determination of the Republican press to ignore the colored man's interest in the party, plainly shows us that it is not an anti-slavery party; and while we are willing to unite with them to resist the aggression of the Slave Power, we do not pledge ourselves to go further with the Republicans than the Republicans will go with us. (Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, Citadel Press, New York, 1951, p. 388.)

### *Nothing in Common with Adventurism*

It is clear that the mass confrontations throughout the North during the period of revolutionary realignment leading to the Civil War have nothing in common with the adventurist tactics encouraged by some radicals today. Such tactics are not related to and do not express the mass movement. They disrupt the struggle to advance the central strategy of our times—the formation of a political realignment to break the power of corporate monopoly over the federal government.

In fact, those who glorify the tactics of confrontation and individual acts of heroism are generally indifferent to or opposed to the wider political struggle for a realignment based on the working class, Black and white, together with the Black liberation movement. That is why they resist the *total* meaning of Frederick Douglass' role, and draw distorted conclusions from the revolutionary struggles of the abolitionist era.

Douglass was at the very center of the struggle against every tendency—whether sectarian and anti-electoral or Rightist—that would have diverted from the strategy for a political realignment to challenge the slave power. His steadfast drive to relate every struggle to this strategic aim even brought him into temporary conflict with his own son, Lewis Douglass, who briefly supported the idea of emigration.

The way in which Douglass' views on emigration are described in a book published in 1969 by *The New York Times* and *Arno Press* offers an interesting example of how the ruling class media are currently falsifying his role in order to make him seem "too conservative" for today's radicals:

Frederick Douglass, who by 1850 was the most prominent Negro leader on American soil, noted the upsurge of feeling on emigration, but had nothing better to offer in countering it than the traditional protests which had been voiced for twenty years. (Howard Holman Bell, *A Survey of the Negro Convention Movement, 1830-1861*, p. 100.)

The writer then goes on to describe Douglass as among the "more conservative" leaders of the period.

It therefore comes as no surprise that the Communists today—who, guided by Marxism-Leninism, seek to apply the heritage of Douglass to the struggle to abolish wage slavery and national oppression—are also portrayed as "too conservative" by the "radical" specialists for the mass media.

To the capitalist media, the "real revolutionaries" are those who accommodate to imperialism by advocating Pan-Africanism and Black capitalism, or (as an equal diversion) by calling for elitist actions instead of mass struggle.

In today's context, many forms of mass struggle will develop in the fight for the revolutionary transfer of power—the highest form of class struggle—from the capitalist class to the working class, Black, Brown and white. According to specific historical conditions, the transfer may take the form of either armed or unarmed struggle.

So far as the role of armed insurrection is concerned, Lenin never conceived of it as aiming at anything less than the *immediate* goal of winning state power. He rejected armed insurrection in the form of an isolated act at a lower phase of the class struggle, when a revolutionary situation did not exist. He saw armed insurrection as valid only within certain

revolutionary situations—that is, when the ruling class resorts to violence to prevent the peaceful transfer of power to the majority led by the working class.

Those who talk about “revolutionary” acts in the U.S. today have failed to assess the differences between the revolutionary situation that existed in this country in the middle of the 19th century and the present historical period, the non-revolutionary situation we are in today.

In this connection, for example, Engels, in his introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, compared the differences in that country between the conditions of 1895 and those of 1848:

. . . History has . . . completely transformed the conditions under which the proletariat has to fight. The mode of struggle of 1848 is today obsolete in every respect . . .

The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for, body and soul. The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is required, and it is just this work that we are now pursuing. . . . (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. I, pp. 190, 199-200.)

Applying Marxist-Leninist principles to the specific conditions in our country, the Program of the Communist Party states:

Revolution, as our Declaration of Independence affirms, is the ultimate and most fundamental of democratic rights. It is also the most democratic of historical acts because it involves the most fundamental choice by the people itself, exercising its sovereign authority. Reactionary coups can be brought off by

conspiracies, but not social revolutions. Coups are manipulations at the top. Social revolution is basic transformation of society, basic change in economic, political and social relationships. More, *socialist* revolution represents a transition in which not a tiny minority of exploiters but the overwhelming majority—the working class and all working people—become the rulers.

So profound a transformation cannot be made by a coup or conspiracy. It can only be effected through active participation of masses of people, Black and white together. It can occur only when millions ordinarily indifferent to the political process, or at most passive participants in it, are brought actively into political life. In the United States, where monopoly is so strongly entrenched, where there is a highly literate population and a long-standing democratic tradition, it would require the conscious effort of millions, supported at the very least by the sympathy of a popular majority. (*New Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*, New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 91-92.)

While the interpretation of San Rafael as a revolutionary act has been advanced by both Black and white radicals, when it is expressed by the latter it has the added implication of white chauvinism. In doing this, they are not carrying out their special responsibility of involving white workers in the fight against racist oppression, but are instead standing on the sidelines awarding medals to dead Black heroes.

Revolutionaries certainly must honor the memory of Jonathan Jackson. But they can do this only by interpreting the meaning of San Rafael in a way that will hasten, not weaken, the fight to free his brother George. Revolutionists have a sacred obligation to distinguish between the selfless nobility of Jonathan's motives and the objective nature of the San Rafael Courthouse events.

Only those actions are revolutionary which advance the unity and consciousness of the masses involved in the revolutionary process. The revolutionary process is never advanced by actions which fail to strengthen militant *mass*

struggle. The final test of every action or tactic, no matter how militant its motivation, is its effect on the mass movement.

Immediately after the San Rafael incident, the Communist Party's Political Committee declared:

The violent scene played out to its deadly end in the shadow of the San Rafael courthouse is an American tragedy which arouses profound concern and deep sorrow in all people of conscience throughout the nation.

Behind the desperate deed of the imprisoned men and their youthful would-be liberator are the goading realities of a bestial prison system, brutal police handling, and a cynical and ruthless courtroom pattern devoid of justice or any touch of humanity or concern for the dignity, lives and liberty of arrested men and women; especially so when they are Black people . . .

The Communist Party has always made clear its opposition to acts of desperation or resort to gunplay on the part of individuals, no matter how awful the provocation or lofty the ideal. Communists reject the concept of revolutionary suicide or revolutionary superman-ism.

Communists always stand for the extension and enrichment of life, and commit their lives to the cause of helping the masses to struggle in a winning way for a social system devoid of such tragedies and worthy of mankind.

We are confident that Communists and all honest leaders of the people will be vigilant against reaction's efforts to exploit the tragedy of San Rafael and to undertake diversionary assaults upon the Communist Party . . .

This statement expresses the Communist Party's unswerving adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Those who rule this country are doing all in their power to prevent militant fighters from learning the real meaning of these principles. They know they will be

unable to hold on to either their barbarous prison system or their system of class and national oppression when the Black liberation movement and all working people are led by fighters like Jonathan Jackson, who have come to maturity in mass struggle, guided and steeled by Lenin's teachings. In this connection, the following statement by Lenin is singularly appropriate:

. . . The greatest, perhaps the only danger to the genuine revolutionary is that of exaggerated revolutionism, ignoring the limits and conditions in which revolutionary methods are appropriate and can be successfully employed. True revolutionaries have mostly come a cropper when they began to write "revolution" with a capital R, to elevate "revolution" to something almost divine, to lose their heads, to lose the ability to reflect, weigh and ascertain in the coolest and most dispassionate manner at what moment, under what circumstances and in which sphere of action you must act in a revolutionary manner, and at what moment, under what circumstances and in which sphere you must turn to reformist action. True revolutionaries will perish (not that they will be defeated from outside, but that their work will suffer internal collapse) only if they abandon their sober outlook and take it into their heads that the "great, victorious, world" revolution can and must solve all problems in a revolutionary manner under all circumstances and in all spheres of action. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 110-111.)

### *Lenin and Alexander, George and Jonathan*

There is a unique affinity in the bond that existed between the young Lenin and his brother Alexander and the bond linking George Jackson and his brother Jonathan.

In 1887, when Lenin was 17 years old, his brother was brought to trial for attempted assassination of the Tsar. Jonathan Jackson "picked up the gun" for an entirely different reason—not to assassinate the judge but to dramatize the

cause of his brother's freedom and of the freedom for all political prisoners. The judge, Jonathan and Jonathan's companions were murdered on the orders of those who are determined that neither George nor his people shall live in freedom.

While there is no resemblance between the specific acts of Jonathan and Alexander, there is similarity in the nobility of their motives. Each was driven to his desperate act by a regime that held his people in bondage.

At Alexander's trial, which ended in the death sentence, he reaffirmed his adherence to the concept of combat by individual terror, stating, "Russian society exists in such circumstances that it is only in these combats with the government that [the people] can defend [their] rights . . . In the Russian nation you will always find ten persons who are so loyal to their ideas and so filled with the unhappiness of their country that it is no sacrifice to them to die on behalf of their cause."

These words reflect the selfless qualities that link Alexander and Jonathan in the long history of struggle against oppression. And Lenin never ceased to love and honor his brother—just as George Jackson loves and honors Jonathan. Yet Lenin dedicated himself to refuting the political views for which his brother so tragically sacrificed his life.

Writing in 1902 of his brother and his brother's generation, Lenin stated that "almost all of them worshipped the heroes of terror. Repudiation of this enveloping tradition came only after a struggle and was accompanied by a break with persons who at all costs wished to remain true to the 'Narodnaya Volya' ideas of terror."

It is our fervent hope that George Jackson, unjustly imprisoned these many years, and himself a courageous symbol of indomitable will to freedom of his triply oppressed people, will take under consideration the lessons pointed out by Lenin. In doing so he can fulfill the remarkable potential he has manifested in serving the cause of liberation.

### *The Prison System and the Wider Struggle*

The nature of George Jackson's experiences—his unjust conviction and the means used to keep him behind bars—dramatizes the need for a deeper understanding of the relationship between the fight for those within and outside prison walls. Defense of the victims of the prison system cannot be isolated from the wider struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

A challenge to the inhuman, racist character of the prison system is necessary; such a challenge cannot be dismissed as "reformist" or "liberal." But it would be equally wrong to go to the other extreme and view this challenge as the primary feature of the struggle against racist, capitalist rule. It is the wider mass struggle against racist and class oppression that is primary, and only through this wider struggle can there be hope of achieving a noticeable impact on the prison system. Only mass struggles to advance the interests of all working people can offer an alternative to the conditions that result in imprisonment for so many of the poor and oppressed.

George Jackson's experiences vividly illustrate the relationship between the laws, the courts and the prisons, and the total operation of the monopoly capitalist state.

What amounts to a life sentence has been imposed on George Jackson by prison authorities, whose illegal power originates outside the prison, in the indeterminate sentence law unconstitutionally upheld by anti-working class, racist courts. This law is a vestige of slavery, keeping prisoners in the ruling class's jails in much the same way that perpetual debt slavery forced sharecroppers to work the land of the former slaveowners. The indeterminate sentence law sanctions George Jackson's bondage through imposition of unlimited imprisonment.

It therefore becomes clear that the defense of victims of the prison system cannot be undertaken apart from the people's primary struggles for peace and against poverty and



oppression. These struggles call for great popular movements on both the non-electoral and electoral fronts.

It is important to remember that at the time Angela Davis was arrested she was not only leading the mass movement to free the Soledad Brothers, but had also initiated a struggle to abolish the indeterminate sentence law. The struggle against repression and for the strengthening of democracy is inseparable from the struggle for liberation and socialism.

### *White Chauvinism and "Super-Revolutionism"*

Those Black and white radicals who would like to see the Communist Party retreat from its Leninist position on San Rafael are playing directly into the hands of those who promote racist provocation and disruption. And, harsh as it may sound, white radicals who engage in "super-revolutionary" interpretations of San Rafael are in reality expressing views ideologically influenced by some of the same chauvinist manifestations that have plagued the New Left since its inception.

These white chauvinist influences (at the heart of the decline of SDS) are glaringly expressed in the book, *The Rebellion in Newark*, by Tom Hayden, an SDS founder. For Hayden the lessons of the ghetto rebellion in Newark are as follows:

The conditions are slowly being created for an American form of guerrilla warfare based on the slums. The riot represents a signal of this change. . . . The role of organized violence is now being carefully considered. During a riot, for instance, a conscious guerrilla can participate in pulling police away from the path of the people engaged in attacking stores. He can create disorder in the new areas the police think secure. He can carry the torch, if not all the people, to white neighborhoods and downtown business districts. If necessary, he can successfully shoot to kill. . . . He can attack, in the suburbs or slums, with paint or bullets, symbols of social oppression. He can get away with it.

Hayden is oblivious to the most fundamental of Marxist principles—the responsibility of white revolutionaries to take the *lead* in the struggle against racism, in the winning of white workers away from the influence of racism, and for unity against the monopolists who exploit them, while doubly oppressing and exploiting Black Americans. Instead, like so many other petty-bourgeois radicals, he confuses taking the lead against racism with giving *leadership* to the Black liberation movement.

By presuming to provide "leadership" to Black people, Hayden demonstrates that instead of fighting racism he is greatly influenced by it. Failing to identify the white ruling class as the source of racism and as the common enemy, he conceives of the struggle against racism as one to be conducted by Blacks alone, with white workers remaining on the sidelines. And his "leadership" doesn't end there; it simultaneously consists of urging Blacks to move along an adventurist, suicidal path.

It is unfortunate that certain white radicals—who would surely condemn the crudely obvious white chauvinism revealed in Hayden's advocacy of this suicidal "strategy" for Black liberation fighters—fail to recognize that their own interpretation of San Rafael as a revolutionary act is also, in some degree, affected by the same concepts of "strategy" permeated by the same chauvinist influences.

### *The "Transference of Strength" Theory*

Such forces as Hayden and Cleaver have been isolated from the people, and most certainly from the Black liberation movement, by their advocacy of urban guerilla warfare in the U.S. To revive their declining influence, they have seized upon San Rafael as the type of action—the single heroic deed—that will inspire the masses to armed struggle.



Lenin long ago exposed the anti-Marxist, anarchist nature of such views. In one of his 1902 *Iskra* articles, Lenin quoted the following from a Socialist Revolutionary leaflet: "Every terrorist blow, as it were, takes away part of the strength of the autocracy and transfers all this strength to the side of the fighters for freedom." Such a theory, Lenin said, "turns upside down, not only all past experience, but all common sense as well." He said further: "... we know from the past and see in the present that *only* new forms of the mass movement or the awakening of new sections of the masses to independent struggle really rouses a spirit of struggle and courage in *all*. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 191-193.)

As Lenin pointed out, strength cannot be transferred. It develops out of *involvement* in mass struggle, for which there is no substitute. Mass struggle generates greater and greater unity, strength and consciousness as the science of socialism is more and more closely linked to the struggles by the Party of the working class.

The anarchist theory of the "transference of strength" by the single heroic deed must also be challenged today for reasons stressed by Communist Party General Secretary Gus Hall:

The racist enemy works very hard to make the link between individual acts of terror and the mass movements that they try to suppress. Therefore, we should not play this game. This is the very meaning of the frameup of Angela Davis. Any concept of 'tactical diversity' opens the doors to the work of police agents. Let us not open those doors in any way.

We Communists must have the deepest understanding, we must have the closest identity with the hopes, desires and frustrations of the thousands of young Jonathan Jacksons—victims of capitalist and racist oppression who are moving into struggle. (*The Erosion of U.S. Capitalism in the 70's*, New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 38-39.)

We Communists can only measure up to our responsibility by bringing the science of Marxist-Leninist analysis to bear on San Rafael and all the experience of today's struggles.

As Gus Hall has shown, the false linking of individual acts of terror and the mass movement is a key tactic of provocation by the racist enemy. Therefore the theory of the "transference of strength" through adventurist deeds serves as a weapon of reaction and counter-revolution, not of liberation and socialism.

Strength cannot be "transferred" to the working class. Strength emerges only from the unity and consciousness of the workers and all the oppressed in their struggle for a better life. As the Program of the Communist Party states:

We Communists, motivated by the elemental human needs of our class and our people, fight the evils of capitalism. Ours is the fate of our class and our people. The trials of their existence are ours. We strive for improvement of their condition here and now. Often this is a life-and-death question. At the same time, we are convinced that socialism, and beyond it communism, offers the only fundamental, lasting solution to the problems of exploitation and oppression, that it opens the only door to an immeasurable improvement in the quality of man's life. Thus the struggle for revolution is the logical continuation of the struggle for a better life. (Op. cit., p. 88.)

### *Postscript (May, 1973)*

The Trial of Angela Davis lasted more than three months. The pulse beat inside the court room was the same as that of tens of millions in socialist lands who have been victorious against imperialism, and the tens of millions still living under imperialist domination.

The titanic struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis was unprecedented. The air waves reverberated around the world with the news of the unanimous verdict of the jury

declaring her not guilty. Simultaneously there was a spontaneous outburst of joy everywhere. Leaving the Court-house in San Jose, Angela declared, "This is the happiest day of my life."

The acquittal of Angela Davis was a dramatic and convincing demonstration of the power of organized masses to expose and defeat a racist, anti-communist conspiracy. Engineered by imperialist circles in the United States the attempt was to discredit, terrorize, and suppress the most conscious, consistent and militant leaders of the struggle in the fight against all forms of imperialist oppression.

The magnitude of this peoples' victory can be understood and appreciated only when viewed against the background of the circumstances out of which the case against Angela Davis was concocted and the array of forces that conspired to send her to the gas chamber.

The nature of the San Rafael events, and their link to Angela through her ownership of the guns brought into the courtroom and her leadership of George Jackson's defense committee, presented reaction with a made-to-order opportunity which it exploited to the full. Every arm of government and the mass media was mobilized to whip up racist, anti-communist hysteria against Angela and to prejudice her guilt: the FBI's highly publicized woman-hunt against the first of her sex to be placed on the ten most-wanted list; President Nixon's TV appearance to congratulate FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on the apprehension of this political "terrorist"; Governor Ronald Reagan's and Governor Nelson Rockefeller's unseemly haste in short-cutting all normal procedures for her extradition; the brush-off in five days by five successive courts of appeals (including the U.S. Supreme Court) of the substantial constitutional arguments against extraditing her; the refusal of the California courts to transfer the trial to a county where a representative jury of Blacks and workers could be secured; and cruelest of all, the denial of bail and Angela's 16 months of imprisonment, most of them in solitary and all of them under maximum security,

that jeopardized her health and would have broken the spirit of anyone less dedicated, determined and courageous.

These facts give some indication of the odds that the fight for Angela's freedom was up against. They were overcome only by a mass movement of unprecedented size and scope in the defense of a political prisoner. In this country it embraced the entire Black people, regardless of class, and at the same time was an outstanding example of Black-white unity that covered the political spectrum from the Communist Party to the YWCA and the Presbyterian Church and included hundreds of leaders in the fields of organized labor, education, culture, religion, etc., especially among women and youth. Abroad the movement was on a scale surpassing the mobilization against the Reichstag fire frame-up. On the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia, tens of millions marched, met and petitioned for Angela's freedom.

An important feature of the mass movement was that it was brought into being with the speed required by the task before it. In contrast to the Sacco-Vanzetti and Rosenberg cases, where the mass movement did not arise until after the death penalty had been imposed, the mass struggle for Angela's freedom began to take shape immediately after her arrest and was a powerful force by the time her trial commenced.

It is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the effect of a mass defense movement upon events in the courtroom. Not so in Angela's case. The impact of the movement upon her trial was made crystal clear by two episodes, each of which marked a turning point in the fight for her freedom.

The first occurred immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court of California outlawing the death penalty when the defense renewed the motion for bail. In reversing his earlier ruling and granting bail, the trial judge acknowledged (in an unusual display of frankness) that he had been influenced by the thousands of communications he received protesting Angela's imprisonment. Then, in a move

prompted by Angela's release, the Supreme Court of California issued a supplementary decision stating that the invalidation of the death sentence did not change the rules relating to bail in what had previously been capital cases. This was an invitation to the prosecution to demand, and the trial judge to order, Angela reimprisoned. But after several tense days, the announcement came from Sacramento that no such demand would be made. This was no act of grace on Reagan's part, but was compelled by fear of the worldwide reaction were Angela again to be placed behind bars.

The second episode provides an even more significant demonstration of the power of the mass movement. From the moment criminal charges were levelled against Angela, she was denounced as a Black political terrorist. Indeed, this characterization was essential for the purposes the frame-up was designed to accomplish. Accordingly, much of the evidence presented to the grand jury that indicted her, and the stories about her blazoned in the press, centered around her membership in the Communist Party and her militant speeches condemning U.S. racism and reaction. But by the time the trial opened, the prosecution was compelled to take a new tack and attempt to defuse the mass movement by camouflaging its monstrous endeavor to railroad Angela because of her color and political beliefs.

In his opening statement to the jury, Prosecutor Harris repeatedly pleaded that "this case is not a political frame-up, and it is not an instance of political persecution nor of racist persecution," and "does not rest in any degree upon the nature of the political views of the defendant." On the contrary, he urged, Angela was motivated by "a passion for George Jackson that knew no bounds, no limits, no respect for life." Her "basic motive" he assured the jury, was "the same motive underlying hundreds of criminal cases across the United States every day—it was founded simply on passion." Pursuant to this change of line, the prosecution abandoned presentation of any evidence of Angela's Party membership and political activities.

This abrupt about-face, forced upon it by the mass movement, hoodwinked no one. Moreover, it proved fatal to the state's case. For Angela, in her opening statement and in her demeanor throughout the trial was the living refutation of the racist, male chauvinist stereotype which the prosecutor had pictured. And, toward the close of the trial, he ruefully acknowledged to the judge that his inability to prove the "crime of passion" theory on which he had been forced to stake his case would cost him a guilty verdict.

The acquittal of Angela Davis is a complete vindication of the mass line of the Communist Party. The tragedy is that George Jackson, a victim of class and racist bestiality, was murdered in prison in cold blood, shortly before Angela Davis was freed by the intervention of world public opinion. This same mass movement, with new strength gained by Angela's freedom, could have freed him as well. The results in this case refute the views of some that this is already a fascist state, or that fascism is inevitable, and denies that U.S. bourgeois-democratic traditions and practices are a source of strength for the mass movement.

Angela's acquittal gives the lie to the myth that it is impossible for the Communist Party to take the leadership in organizing a mass defense movement, and likewise impossible to build such a movement in defense of a Communist. For the Communist Party took the initiative and gave the leadership in building the movement that saved Angela. And it was her frank public acknowledgment of Party membership, her proud identification of herself with her Party, and her exemplary conduct as a Party member and leader that helped to win her the respect and support of masses.

Finally her acquittal should set at rest the slander (circulated even in her case) that the Party is interested in the martyrdom and not the freedom of victims of ruling class injustice and that it "uses" these victims (Blacks in particular), in the guise of defending them.

Many factors went into making possible the mass movement that freed Angela Davis. There was the personality of

Angela—her steadfast, militant and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of her people and of all the poor and oppressed; her proud acknowledgement of membership in the Communist Party; her unflinching courage during the long months of imprisonment; her unyielding defense of her socialist convictions; her dignity and pride in her Black womanhood; her charisma—all gave the lie to the frame-up and inspired and won the love of millions.

This was reinforced by the very fine work in the courtroom by her attorneys, Leo Branton, Howard Moore, Margaret Burnham and Doris Walker.

Angela Davis was exceptional in arguing her own defense before the jury.

The new level of the Black liberation movement, its heightened militancy and growing maturity was most important. Blacks of every class and political persuasion identified themselves with Angela, took pride in her refusal to be coopted by the establishment, rejoiced in her militancy and recognized that her fight for freedom was inextricably intertwined with their own. Joined with this was the growing awareness and understanding on the part of white masses of the conditions of Black oppression and a growing readiness on their part to join with Blacks in the fight against it.

The growing strength and prestige of the socialist world made it much more difficult for U.S. imperialism to exploit anti-communism in this case, as was done so successfully in the Rosenberg, Smith Act, and other political cases of the 1950's.

And then there was the crisis of confidence in the U.S. government. Prosecutors and the system of criminal justice have lost their credibility among the people. They have suffered the same fate that has befallen other capitalist institutions, as has been revealed by the Harris polls. This loss of credibility has manifested itself in acquittals or hung juries in a series of other recent political prosecutions, among them the Black Panther trials in New York, Los Angeles and New

Orleans, the Seale-Huggins and Newton trials, and the Berigan and Soledad Brothers cases.

The foregoing factors were not only responsible for the unprecedented mass movement in Angela's behalf but were at work in the courtroom and upon the minds of the jurors who acquitted her.

The work of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners was co-ordinated by Franklyn Alexander and Fania Davis Jordan. Its Executive Secretary was Charlene Mitchell. This committee helped to organize and guide several hundred local committees throughout the country, and helped to enlist the support of millions.

A Legal Defense Fund was established with a Board of Trustees led by Ossie Davis as Chairman, Cyril Philip, Secretary-Treasurer, and Marvel Cooke as assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

The list of participants in this historic battle would fill volumes. The indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Sallye Davis, Angela's mother, are perhaps symbolic of the great credit that must be given to the special role of Black women. Credit must also be given to the legions of men and women of all colors and varied political persuasions who helped make this victory possible.

The freedom of Angela Davis is an important development in the struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners. The lessons of that struggle have special meaning in the fight of humanity against racism and anti-Communism. That is why there was such a tumultuous outpouring of leaders and peoples in the Socialist world as Angela, accompanied by Franklyn and Kendra Alexander, two of her closest co-workers and defenders, toured their lands hailing the power of Socialism and international solidarity. That is why Angela Davis and Charlene Mitchell are now actively engaged in an all out effort to help build a massive movement to defend all victims of imperialism.

## **FROM ANTI-SLAVERY TO THE ANTI-MONOPOLY STRATEGY**

Now, over a hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1863, racism and oppression are more than ever essential to the ruling class, as U.S. state monopoly capitalism enters a new and more acute phase of the crisis and decline of capitalism. U.S. imperialism, facing a world in which the forces of socialism and class and national liberation are on the ascendancy, and in which foreign imperialist powers are challenging its domination, certainly can't do today what the slave power was unable to do over 100 years ago—solve its problems through aggression and expansion.

The monopolists are equally unable to solve their problems at home, where they are not only imposing a wage freeze, but are also attempting to impose a far more repressive racist freeze on Black liberation struggles than that of the McCarthy period.

By perpetuating and intensifying racism, monopoly aims to stop the advance of the Black liberation movement, to destroy organized labor and suppress every struggle of the oppressed and exploited.

### *Monopoly's New Assault*

Monopoly capital, within today's context, aims to repeat the kind of assault on the people's rights that led to the betrayal of Reconstruction. Reaction of that period, through racism and violence, prepared the way for the Supreme Court to void the Civil Rights Act of 1875, whose passage had been won by the supporters of Reconstruction to solidify the gains they had made. Reaction's aim then was to push the country into a long era of segregation and semi-slavery.

Today state monopoly capitalism seeks to wipe out every trace of the struggles of the recent Civil Rights Decade. The increasing political repression, the attempted frameup of Angela Davis and other political prisoners, Nixon's racist nominations to the Supreme Court, are all part of monopoly's attempt to obliterate every advance made through Black and white struggle since Reconstruction was destroyed.

The betrayal of Reconstruction, it should be remembered, was the signal for a three-sided attack against the masses. The Old Slave Codes were replaced by the new Black Codes, and the former chattel slaves were forced into semi-slavery, segregation and racist oppression. At the same time, the escalation of the military plunder and massacre of the Indians was entering a climactic stage. And simultaneously, the courts that upheld the betrayal of Emancipation were declaring that workers, Black and white, did not have the right to organize. In other words, the courts had not only revived Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's pre-Civil War doctrine that the Black man "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." They had also extended this into another phase of repression—that labor, whatever its color, had no rights that capital was bound to respect.

In 1875, when the robber barons were joining with the former slave owners to prepare for the 1877 betrayal of Reconstruction, Judge Holden Owen, presiding over the trial of striking Pennsylvania miners, declared: "Any agreement,

combination or confederation to increase the price of any vendible commodity, merchandise or anything else is a conspiracy under the laws of the U.S." Of course, this doctrine—like Nixon's wage—"price" freeze—was applied only to labor, never to the capitalists' profits.

Because of the perpetuation of racism and the resulting division between the triply-oppressed Black workers and the exploited white workers, it took more than 60 years of struggle against the bosses' government-supported violence to win the right to organize. Today, the rights of labor are once again under grave attack, and labor's fate, as in the past, is inseparably bound up with that of the Black liberation movement.

### *Dimensions of the Crisis*

The crisis of poverty and unemployment Black Americans now face is, save for the almost total genocidal elimination of American Indians, without precedent for any segment of this country's population.

"The unemployment rate among Black workers in the ghetto now exceeds the general rate of unemployment of the entire nation during the depression of the 1930's," reported Herbert Hill, NAACP Labor Secretary, at the organization's 1971 National Convention.

"The rate of unemployment of Black workers in 25 major centers of urban non-white population concentration is now between 25 per cent and 40 per cent," stated Hill, "and the unemployment rate for Black youth will be in excess of 50 per cent by the middle of this summer. In 1933, the national unemployment rate was 24.9 per cent, the highest officially recorded unemployment in the history of the United States." Hill also pointed out that tens of thousands of Black workers are classified as employed but never have an income that could lift them above the poverty level.



Yet, stark as this statistical report is, it cannot possibly convey the disaster of racism, poverty and oppression affecting every aspect of the lives of Black Americans today. The end of the decade of civil rights struggles left the Black masses with a feeling of vast frustration; not only had their condition failed to improve, it had worsened.

This frustration was simultaneously experienced by many militant young fighters, Black and white, whose despair turned to disillusion with the preceding years of struggle. They were unable to differentiate the gains of the Civil Rights Decade—in terms of unity, militant mass action and consciousness—from the deepening crisis. They did not realize that under capitalism the most important fruit of struggle is the people's advance in unity and consciousness. In their frustration, they attacked the Civil Rights struggle itself, instead of seeing that it had created a bridge to the period ahead.

### *Two-Sided Pressure on King*

Thus, even before the hunger and frustration of Black masses led to the spontaneous outbursts in Watts, Detroit and Newark, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. encountered attacks not only from reaction but from segments of militant youth under the influence of sectarianism and pseudo-revolutionism.

While the open attacks from the latter were a relatively new development, King had long experienced pressure from the establishment liberals, the NAACP, the Urban League and others to limit mass struggle and to rely on the courts and "friends" within the two major parties. In this period—as the war in Vietnam continued and domestic conditions worsened—this pressure from the Right increased, and was particularly aimed at preventing King from linking the Black liberation movement with the anti-war struggle.

At the same time, the frustrations of radical youth were intensified by the escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965—immediately after the new Civil Rights Act was passed. Many Black and white radicals, including Carmichael, Cleaver, Newton, Forman and Hayden, began to step up their attacks on the Civil Rights struggle. *They placed themselves in opposition to King, who was determined not to abandon, but to strengthen, the forces of the Civil Rights Decade, to deepen and broaden them into a realignment that could carry the struggle against poverty and racist oppression to a new level.*

If King was not without error in coping with pressure from the Right, and later with that of the pseudo-radicals, his overall record was one of firm adherence to militant non-violent mass struggle. The maturing of his leadership, his recognition of the decisive role of the working class, his evolvment toward an anti-imperialist position, all of his steady and remarkable growth reflected his rejection of both the opportunist pressures to limit mass struggle and the super-revolutionary pressures to substitute the rhetoric of violence for the power of mass struggle.

King has been dead more than five years, but the attacks on his strategy and objectives continue from the Right and the pseudo-left. In fact, while Nixon is bent on destroying the advances of the Civil Rights Decade, it is ironic that the new "revolutionists" are so certain there is nothing worth saving from it! But Nixon recognizes—and fears—what the super-militants refuse to see—the Civil Rights Decade created the pre-conditions for the much higher level of struggle needed in the period ahead.

### *Pressing for a New Beginning*

When King was assassinated in the spring of 1968, he was leading the strike of the predominantly Black sanitation workers of Memphis. His commitment to this courageous working-class struggle was a vibrant indication that, in

pressing for a new beginning in the strategy against racist oppression, poverty and war, he had come to a *full* realization of the meaning of his first major struggle, the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott. This landmark battle was sparked by Mrs. Rosa Lee Parks, a Black *working-class* woman, and carried on with courage and tenacity by, primarily, Black working-class men and women. In the course of a decade of leadership of the liberation struggle, King came to understand that it was workers, more than any other stratum, who possess these qualities.

King recognized that since these special qualities of workers had brought about the historic turning point in Montgomery, leading to the nationwide involvement of many other sections of the population, including Black and white youth in the struggle for equal rights, the new stage—the struggle for jobs, for an end to poverty, racism and war—demanded a new strategy based on the working class, Black and white.

Although King's views were not identical with the Marxist conception of the role of the working class—which sees this class not only as the main social force but as the leader in the anti-monopoly struggle—he had come steadily closer to this outlook. *Moreover, it is especially meaningful that King moved in this direction at the time when Marcuse and others, with the assistance of the mass media, were making their greatest headway in promoting the idea among radical youth that the Marxist concept of the working class was outdated.*

### ***Democracy, Liberation and Socialism***

Another ironic contradiction in the role of many of the new radicals emerged at the end of the Civil Rights Decade: As they lost sight of the historic significance of that period, and more and more heaped abuse on it and its preeminent leader, they became the inadvertent helpmates of the ruling class, whose conscious aim it was and is to distort the meaning of that period to the masses.

It should not be forgotten that for many long decades the ruling class hid the true history of Reconstruction from the people of this country. Now, at a time when the Black liberation movement has forced at least the beginnings of attention to the Reconstruction era, it would indeed be strange if the rhetoric of the pseudo-revolutionaries helped the monopolists conceal the true meaning, the heroism and achievements of the Civil Rights Decade. This must not be allowed to happen.

It is important to understand the meaning of this period, and the vital leadership role in it of Martin Luther King, who came to an awareness of the revolutionary relationship between the fight for rights, for security, for peace and the liberation struggle. Despite their “revolutionary” rhetoric, this is something the pseudo-radicals have failed to comprehend. In rejecting this central meaning of the civil rights struggle, these radicals caricatured the Marxist principles they so often proclaimed.

As Lenin persistently emphasized, the fight for democracy is at the heart of the class struggle. He continually warned against the ideas of those who ignored the connection between the struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism. In “A Caricature of Marxism,” he wrote:

*All democracy consists in the proclamation and realization of rights which under capitalism are realizable only to a very small degree and only relatively. But without the proclamation of these rights, without a struggle to introduce them now, immediately, without training the masses in the spirit of this struggle, socialism is impossible. (Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 74.)*

Lenin also emphasized that Marxists must:

. . . know that democracy does *not* abolish class oppression. It only makes the class struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, and that is what we need. . . . The more democratic the system of government, the clearer will the workers see that the root evil is capitalism, not lack of rights. (Ibid., p. 73.)

### *Martin Luther King and Frederick Douglass*

Martin Luther King's sectarian opponents proclaimed their Marxism, but their policies and practice were contrary to its principles. On the other hand, King's philosophy was that of moral suasion, but in practice he came to rely more and more on the liberating force of mass struggle as the foundation for Black freedom and social advance for all the oppressed and exploited.

Though not a Marxist, King was steadily moving toward a strategy that tended to coincide with the Marxist-Leninist concept of an anti-monopoly policy, one involving the Black and white sectors of the working class, the Black liberation movement, the Puerto Rican and Chicano masses, and all others opposed to war and poverty. This strategy continues in today's terms—when the working-class is the leading force—the strategy developed by Frederick Douglass during the Abolitionist period, when he struggled to form a broad coalition of Abolitionists and other strata to break the slave owners' control of Congress and the Federal Government.

Just as it is impossible to understand the Civil Rights Decade without understanding the role of Martin Luther King, it is impossible to grasp the meaning of the anti-slavery struggle without understanding the role of Frederick Douglass, the great genius and architect of the anti-slavery strategy.

Like King, Douglass matured in struggle against sectarian, separatist and accommodationist tendencies within the movement of his time. As one example, his writings show that throughout the crucial decade of the 1850s, he resisted the separatist alternative of emigrationism which would have weakened the anti-slavery front. Douglass saw that emigrationism, a forerunner of Pan Africanism, objectively meant accommodation to the slave power.

And, as early as 1848, Douglass began to oppose the sectarianism of William Lloyd Garrison and other anti-slavery forces who were against both electoral action and any coal-

tion with those whose objectives stopped short of abolition.

In this connection, Douglass himself had at first feared that the Free Soil movement, which opposed the extension of slavery but did not demand its abolition, might divert from the anti-slavery struggle. However, he came to understand the objective role of this movement within the anti-slavery strategy and called upon the Abolitionists to support it:

We may stand off . . . and in this way play into the hands of our enemies . . . [or] remain silent and speechless, and let things take their course. . . . In neither of these ways can we go. (*The North Star*, August 18, 1848.)

While calling for a common front of the Abolitionists with the Free Soilers and others opposed to the extension of slavery, Douglass at the same time relentlessly advanced the Abolitionists' independent goal of an end to slavery. He wrote:

Free Soilism is lame, halt and blind, while it battles against the spread of slavery, and admits its right to exist anywhere. If it has the right to exist it has the right to grow and spread . . . The only way to put an end to the aggressions of slavery is to put an end to slavery itself. (*Frederick Douglass' Paper*, August 24, 1855.)

Douglass never relaxed in his drive for the development of the strategy which eventually led to a political realignment, one from which the Republican Party headed by Lincoln emerged to challenge the two major parties of the period. At the time this realignment was in the process of formation, he wrote:

We rejoice in this demonstration . . . to bury party affinities and predilections, and also the political leaders who have hitherto controlled them; to unite in one grand phalanx and go forth, and whip the enemy. (*Ibid.*, July 27, 1855.)

### ***Frederick Douglass and Karl Marx***

In 1846, two years before writing the *Communist Manifesto*, the young Karl Marx had already revealed his deep understanding of the struggle against slavery in the U.S. His thinking closely paralleled the direction Frederick Douglass was taking, and this remarkable parallelism in the liberation strategy of these two giants of world history continued throughout every phase of the anti-slavery struggle.

Marx, too, saw the Free Soil movement as an objective force against slavery, and opposed the sectarianism of those who resisted coalition with it. At the same time, he warned against the utopian views of some of the Free Soilers. For example, writing of Herman Kriege, editor of the *Volkstribun* in New York, Marx said:

. . . he continues to chant his paeon: And so the old dreams of the Europeans would at last come true. A place would be prepared for them on this side of the ocean which they would only have to take and to fructify with the labour of their hands, so as to be able proudly to declare to all the tyrants of the world, "this is *my* cabin, which you have not built; this is *my* hearth whose glow fills your hearts with envy."

He might have added, This is *my* dunghill, which I, my wife, my children, my manservant, and my cattle have produced. And who are the Europeans whose "dreams" would thus come true? Not the communist workers, but bankrupt shopkeepers and handicraftsmen, or ruined cottars, who yearn for the good fortune of once again becoming petty bourgeois and peasants in America. And what is the "dream" that is to be fulfilled by means of these 1,400,000 acres? No other than that all men be converted into private owners, a dream which is unrealizable and as communistic as the dream to convert all men into emperors, kings and popes. (Quoted in: Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 327.)

Thus Marx's aim, like Douglass', was to develop a strategy that would bring together a coalition to stop the spread of slavery as the *precondition* for its abolition.

*At the same time, Marx's polemic against Kriege has profound significance to the struggle against white chauvinism: it demonstrated his irreconcilable opposition to every form of accommodation to the influence of racism.* Marx was battling against the seepage of racist poison into the Abolitionist movement, in this case in the form of the illusion that Western land could be won for the white masses—while the Indians were driven off this same land and the Blacks remained enslaved.

While the Free Soil movement aimed at keeping the Western land from the slave power, Marx saw that it could not halt the eventual takeover of this land and economy by the rising capitalist class. He attacked the petty-bourgeois illusions of the Free Soilers because they carried the seed of the racist division which would weaken the strategy for the most democratic outcome in the struggle against the slave power. And any weakening of this strategy would jeopardize the fight for Black liberation, further the plunder and genocide of the Indians, and profoundly disfigure the struggle for unity of the Black and white working class, whose mission it would be to lead in the battle for the abolition of wage slavery after the abolition of chattel slavery

### ***Racist "Disfigurement" of Class Struggle***

In addition, Marx saw that the greater the democratic gains of the masses, the less would the future struggles of labor with a black skin and labor with a white skin be distorted by the divisive ideology of racism. And later, applying Marxism to the imperialist stage of capitalism, Lenin placed the struggle for democracy, in the way Marx viewed it, at the center of the struggle for the socialist revolution. Racism, on the other hand, results in what Marx many times described as the "disfigurement" of the class struggle—di-

verting it away from the class enemy into division and fragmentation of the exploited and oppressed.

That is why Lenin tirelessly emphasized that the struggle for democracy is indivisibly bound up with the struggle against racism, and class and national oppression. Lenin saw this struggle as the key to advancing the unity of the workers of the oppressor nation with the workers and the people of any oppressed nation or nationality.

In an article that appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1861, Marx forewarned that the United States would continue to suffer from racist disfigurement if the abolition of slavery was in any way compromised:

The progressive abuse of the Union by the slave power, working through its alliance with the Northern Democratic Party is, so to say, the general formula of United States history since the beginning of this century. The successive compromise measures mark the successive degrees of encroachment by which the Union became more and more transformed into the slave of the slaveowner. (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p.6.)

The confirmation of Marx's analysis can be found in the "successive compromises" which led to the betrayal of Reconstruction and, finally, the transformation of the Union into the slave of state monopoly capitalism.

The history of this country has been warped and distorted, first by slavery, then the survivals of slavery and the ceaseless propagation of racist ideology. And from this history it can be clearly seen that the class interests of white workers, as in the struggle against the super-monopolies today, can only be advanced in unity with Black workers and as an integral part of the fight to end the oppression of Black people.

In writing of Marx' simultaneous support of the land reform movement and opposition to those who saw that movement as a means of realizing their petty-bourgeois

dreams instead of a way to struggle against class and racist oppression and exploitation, Lenin said:

While mercilessly ridiculing the absurd ideological trappings of the movement, Marx strives in a sober, materialist manner to determine its *real* historical content, the consequences that must inevitably flow from it because of objective conditions, regardless of the will and the consciousness, the dreams and theories, of the various individuals. Marx, therefore, does not condemn, but fully approves communist support of the movement. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 328.)

At the same time, Marx saw that even an uncompromising struggle against all vestiges of slavery, against the plunder and murder of the Indians, and to gain land for Black and white toilers, could not change the nature of commodity production which would inevitably lead to the take-over of the land and the economy by the rising capitalist class. Lenin wrote:

With remarkable penetration, Marx, who was then only the *future* economist, points to the role of exchange and commodity production. The peasants, he says, will exchange the produce of the land, if not the land itself, and that says everything! The question is dealt with in a way that is largely applicable to the Russian peasant movement and its petty-bourgeois ideologists. . . . Marx, however, does not simply repudiate this petty-bourgeois movement, he does not dogmatically ignore it, he does not fear to soil his hands by contact with the movement of the revolutionary petty-bourgeois democrats—a fear that is characteristic of many of the doctrinaires. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 327, 328.)

### *Douglass and Black Power*

While Douglass was the champion of Black and white unity within the Abolitionist movement, as well as the ar-

chitect of the strategy to bring about a national political realignment, he also advocated the self-organization of Black people.

By 1849, Douglass was already calling for such a group, to be named the National League of Colored People. He had even suggested a constitution for it, with a preamble that stated:

. . . we have long deplored the distracted and divided state of the oppressed, and the manifold evils resulting therefrom, and desiring as we do to see an union formed which shall enable us better to grapple with the various systems of injustice and wrong by which we are environed, and to regain our plundered rights, we do solemnly agree to unite in accordance with the following. (*The North Star*, August 10, 1849.)

Douglass was certain that in their struggle for liberation, and as part of the struggles of all oppressed and exploited, Black people would achieve self-union. "We shall never despair of our people, and union will yet be affected—our ranks cannot always be divided," he wrote in *The North Star* (November 19, 1849).

It is clear that Douglass was the original advocate of "Black power" and that his concept had nothing in common with the disruptive sloganizing of Stokely Carmichael. Douglass rejected all tendencies that viewed Black power in a separatist way. "It is evident," wrote Douglass, "that white and black must fall or flourish together." (*The North Star*, November 16, 1849.)

Douglass not only opposed separatist concepts of Black power, he also polemicized against those who feared that the press would falsely portray Black self-union as anti-white. This group included a prominent Black friend who wrote to *The North Star*, saying, "I believe that the motto, 'Union of the oppressed for the sake of freedom,' will be interpreted by the pro-slavery press, to mean an union of the black against the white." Douglass, continuing in his insistence that there

was no contradiction between the self-union of the oppressed Blacks and unity with white opponents of the slave-owners, responded by stating that "it seems worse than timidity for us to hesitate to adopt measures for our improvement and elevation, from fear of misinterpretation."

For Douglass, self-union of the oppressed Black people—as the starting point of Black power—was fully consistent with *unity* with white Abolitionists and *coalition* with other white strata in order to advance liberation. He saw that Abolition could not be achieved if Blacks pursued a separatist policy.

Douglass saw that all struggle, including that for self-organization, was a process. It would be self-defeating, he realized, for Black people to reject the strategy of coalition until some vague future date when they had achieved complete internal organization.

Douglass did not waver in his conviction despite bitter attacks by Garrison and other sectarians in the Abolitionist movement who opposed a coalition strategy against the slave power. The passive acceptance of their views, he was convinced, would lead to the perpetuation of slavery for an indeterminate length of time.

Douglass also realized that refusal to enter into coalition with forces that did not, at that stage of the struggle, accept the goal of abolition would contradict and undermine an anti-slavery strategy. Had Douglass advocated the anti-coalition concept of Black power advanced today by Carmichael, Forman, Boggs and others, the coalition of forces that led to the defeat of the slave power would not have been achieved.

In today's struggle against the genocidal economic and social aggressions of state monopoly capitalism, those so-called radicals advocate the type of "Black power" strategy that Douglass so relentlessly opposed—a separatist concept that would dissipate instead of strengthen Black power, and would result in the perpetuation of *unequal* power of the oppressed and exploited in the battle against the racist ruling class.



According to Stokely Carmichael, "The major mistake made by the exponents of the coalition theory is that they advocate alliances with groups which have never had as their central goal the necessity for the total revamping of society. At bottom, these groups accept the American system and want only—if at all—to make peripheral, marginal reforms in it. Such reforms are inadequate to rid society of racism." (Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power, the Politics of Liberation in America*, Random House, New York, 1967, pp. 60-61.)

Carmichael is vague about what he means by the "total revamping of society." The only way that can be accomplished is by establishing socialism, which he opposes. Carmichael also states that "reforms are inadequate to rid society of racism." Of course this is true, since only the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by socialism can totally abolish racism. The majority of Black as well as white masses, however, are not ready to wait for socialism as the solution to their exploitation and oppression today. They continue to search for answers to the problems imposed by their common exploiter and oppressor, state monopoly capitalism.

Despite this fact, Carmichael calls upon Black people to reject the struggle for reforms in favor of the "total revamping" of society. In the same breath, he advocates interracial disunity pending the achievement of complete Black self-unity.

But this self-unity will come about only as a part of the revolutionary process in which the struggle for the racial and class unity of the oppressed and exploited is an aim and result of every battle against the racist oppressor. Those who do not understand the role of coalition in the people's fight to improve their condition fail to see the relationship between reforms and revolution.

Long ago, Douglass answered those who persist in the illusion that the destiny of oppressed Black people is separate and unrelated to the destiny of exploited whites. "We

deem it a settled point," wrote Douglass, "that the destiny of the colored man is bound up with the white people of this country . . . and the question ought to be . . . what principle should dictate policy . . ." (*The North Star*, November 16, 1849.)

### *Frederick Douglass and Paul Robeson*

In our time, the towering figure of Paul Robeson has personified the link between two significant periods—from the betrayal of Reconstruction to the era of Black liberation begun with Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Decade.

Frederick Douglass had himself been a slave and Robeson is the son of a slave. Like Douglass in his time, Robeson has devoted his life to the cause of Black liberation. And, like Douglass, he recognizes that Black liberation cannot be achieved via a separatist path, but through Black power in alliance with the oppressed and exploited of all colors. Robeson has always seen Black independence and Black-white alliance as related, indispensable components of the liberation struggle.

The principles that should "dictate policy," Robeson has declared, are the following: "Dedication to the Negro people's welfare is one side of the coin; the other side is independence. Effective Negro leadership must rely upon and be responsive to no other control than the will of the people. We have allies—important allies—among our white fellow citizens, and we must seek to draw them close to us and to gain many more. But the Negro people's movement must be led by Negroes, not only in terms of title and position but in reality." (Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand*, Othello Associates, New York, 1958, p. 111.)

Robeson struggled for self-union of his people at home, and for solidarity with the oppressed and their allies at home and abroad. Whereas Douglass travelled widely in Europe to

win support for the anti-slavery cause, Robeson travelled even more extensively, rallying support for Black liberation and championing liberation from imperialism everywhere.

That Robeson's travels were more extensive than Douglass' was of course made possible by the October Revolution, which replaced the czar and serfdom with socialism, opening the way for the end of racism and oppression in a major part of the globe, and becoming the most decisive support for the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

Wherever he went, Robeson earned the hatred of the U.S. imperialists—and never more than in Paris in 1949, when he declared: "It is unthinkable that American Negroes could go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed them for generations against the Soviet Union which in one generation has raised our people to full human dignity."

When Robeson asserted that Black men would never fight against the country of socialism—the Soviet Union, the chief supporter and champion of liberation from imperialism, oppression and racism—he was expressing what is at the heart of today's Black resistance to fighting a war to oppress others.

### *For a Strategic Breakthrough*

In Douglass' time, the strategy to break the slave power's control of Congress and the Federal Government was the precondition for the abolition of slavery. Today, the precondition for opening the path to the abolition of wage slavery and racist oppression through socialism is the strategy to defeat the threat of fascism and to break the monopolists' domination of Congress and the Federal Government.

"Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism [in its] preparatory stages," stated Georgi Dimitrov, "is not in a position to prevent the

*growth of fascism, but on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*" (*United Front Against Fascism*, New Century Publishers, New York, 1950, p. 9.)

The anti-coalition views of Carmichael, Forman, Boggs and others are nothing less than opposition to a united front against the "reactionary measures" with which monopoly prepares for its imposition of fascism.

However, regardless of the disruptive nature of the views of such Black radicals, it must be recognized that the main obstacle to Black and white unity against the common enemy is the influence of racism on white workers. And it is the primary responsibility of white revolutionaries to lead the fight against racist ideology and to mobilize white workers in the struggle against racism and in support of Black liberation as indispensable to the advance of their class interests.

The aim of monopoly is to force a reversal of every aspect of bourgeois democracy, limited as it is, in order to open the way for fascism. The aim of the anti-monopoly program, as advocated by the Communist Party, is to bring about a *strategic* breakthrough to a deeper and wider degree of democracy, one that would powerfully accelerate the revolutionary process, opening the way to Black liberation and socialism.

Once this anti-monopoly strategy succeeds in breaking the control of state monopoly capital over Congress and the government, the forces exist, internally and internationally—in contrast to the anti-slavery period—that can prevent the betrayal of the struggle. There is such a perspective, and this is so, first of all, because the forces of class and national liberation, headed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, have changed the world balance of power.

## STRATEGY FOR A BLACK AGENDA

It seems paradoxical that the recent avalanche of books and articles portraying the Black condition in the U.S. as that of a colony has been issued by the same monopoly-controlled book and newspaper publishers who use most of the rest of their ideological output to deny the imperialist nature of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

It seems paradoxical but it is not. This development marks a new state of sophistication in the ideological offensive of U.S. imperialism. The colony theory is particularly useful to the monopolists because it appears to be so radical; in fact, it contains the admission that the *oppression* of Black people in the U.S. is comparable to colonial oppression in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This emphasis on the intensity of Black oppression gives the colony theory its ring of authenticity.

But this admission of oppression is not as candid (one might even say benign) as it might seem. By promoting the colony theory, the white ruling class aims to define and determine the direction of the Black liberation movement. In yet another form, the monopolists are striving to prevent

Black people themselves from defining the *specific* features that constitute the special oppression they experience.

By analogy, this theory directs attention to those aspects of the Black condition in the U.S. which most closely resemble colonial conditions. These similarities are so powerful that one's attention may be diverted from what is *unique* in the status of the triply-oppressed Black peoples in colonial or semi-colonial situations, past or present.

Via the colony analogy, and variations on this unscientific, anti-Marxist theme, U.S. imperialism's ideologists are trying to influence the Black liberation movement into adopting a self-defeating strategy. While the U.S. "internal Black colony" theory resembles a winning strategy for an oppressed *majority* living in a colony, it would mean certain defeat for an oppressed *minority*—which has indeed been the Black condition for more than 350 years in this part of the world.

The supposedly "revolutionary" (even so-called "Marxist"! ) books on the colony analogy, now in mass circulation, were written by white radicals who have abandoned the struggle against racism, and by Black radicals who seek rhetorical short cuts to liberation. By portraying the status of the Black people in the U.S. as a colony, these radicals assist the ruling class' aim of diverting the Black liberation movement from a *winning* strategy: one that would advance the self-organization of the Black liberation movement, and simultaneously combine this *independent* strength with that of allies—the working class, Black, Brown, Yellow, Red and white, together with all the poor and exploited—in a new formation. This is the basis for an anti-monopoly coalition, the only strategy that opens the way to a future without racism, exploitation, poverty or oppression.

### *Genesis of the Colony Theory*

Among the radicals, Black and white, who have popularized the colony theory are Eldridge Cleaver, Huey Newton, Regis Debray, James Foreman, Tom Hayden, Harold Cruse, James Boggs, Stokely Carmichael and Robert L. Allen.

It is ironic that many of these radicals, who claim that Marxism is European in origin and must be revised in order to apply to the Black people in the U.S., advance theories based on revisions of Marxism by such Europeans as Herbert Marcuse, Leon Trotsky and Regis Debray, as well as the Trotsky-like revisions to be found in the "thought" of Mao Tse-tung.

It was especially under the influence of Marcuse and Maoism that the New Left radicals began to be attracted to one or another pseudo-revolutionary theory, including the concept of an "internal colony" of Black people in the U.S. While Marcuse's ideas are not identical with "the thought of Mao," the views of both stimulated anti-Marxist misconceptions of the world revolutionary process, the historic role of the working class and its relationship to the liberation struggles of oppressed people, and the imperative need for strategies based on the specific features and historic development of each country, each working class and each national liberation movement.

During every upsurge in the people's struggles, especially those of the mainly working-class Black people, there is a more extensive activation of counter-measures designed to sustain disunity and block alliance between Black and white workers, together with the Black people as a whole, against corporate monopoly.

In writing about this, Herbert Marcuse is revealed as very much a part of the problem, rather than the solution:

Contemporary society seems capable of containing social change . . . the capitalist development has altered the struc-

ture and function of these two classes (bourgeoisie and proletariat) in such a way that they no longer appear to be agents of social transformation. An overriding interest in the preservation of the status quo unites the former antagonists in the most advanced areas of contemporary society. (Quoted in an article by Allen Graubard, in *Beyond the New Left*, pp. 147, 148, McCall Publishing Co., New York, 1970.)

Marcuse also makes it clear that his elitist contempt is not limited to the working class:

Technological controls appear to be the very embodiment of Reason for the benefit of *all* social groups and interests—to such an extent that *all* contradiction seems irrational and *all* counteraction impossible . . . (My italics—H.W.) (*One-Dimensional Man*, p. 9, Beacon Press, Boston, 1966.)

And he spells out even more precisely which “social groups” are included in his elitist contempt in the following quotation:

If the worker and his boss enjoy the same television program and visit the same resort places, if the typist is attractively made up as the daughter of her employer, if the Negro owns a Cadillac, if they all read the same newspaper, then this assimilation (!!!—H.W.) indicates not the disappearance of classes, but the extent to which the needs and satisfactions that serve the preservation of the Establishment are shared by the underlying population. (Ibid., p. 8.)

There is, of course, no more truth to Marcuse’s assertion that Ford assembly line workers go to “the same resort places” as the Ford family (except as moonlighting waiters trying to make ends meet!) than to his racist stereotype of the Cadillac-owning Black workers.

It is with such fantasies that Marcuse seeks to convince us that, even though classes have not disappeared, the struggle for class and national liberation *has* been eliminated because

of “the extent to which the needs and satisfactions . . . of the Establishment are shared by the underlying population.”

This Alice-in-Wonderland vision of mass satisfaction—instead of mass hatred of exploitation, poverty and racist oppression—forms the core of Marcuse’s “revolutionary” ideology. And his inclusion of Black people among those incapable of “counteraction” is a direct ideological descendant of the racist stereotype of the “happy,” “docile” slave.

It is logical that Marcuse’s contempt of the working class and of Black people be accompanied by hatred of the Soviet Union! The Soviet Union embodies the power of the working class and of formerly oppressed peoples. It is precisely such forces that will end exploitation and racism in the U.S. and internationally.

### *The Historic Distinction*

It is not far-fetched to assert that those influenced by Marcusian ideology—which dismisses the masses, Black and white, as incapable of struggle against racism and exploitation—would be receptive to any theory seeming to offer a “short cut” to mass struggle.

In the recent period these “short cuts” took the form of advocating “instant revolution,” “power out of the barrel of a gun,” “urban guerrilla warfare,” etc. However, as this rhetoric became increasingly exposed as a roadblock to mass struggle, the colony theory emerged as a new diversion.

The colony theory, with its radical ring of protest against oppression, has great attraction for radicals on the Left and for advocates of “Black capitalism” on the Right. Although concealed by a rhetorical facade of “colonization,” “underdevelopment,” etc., both these groups can be found on a parallel—or even a common—platform of accommodation to monopoly.

However, those radicals who advance the “Black colony in the U.S.” theory fail to see the historic distinction be-

tween the effect of the slave trade on Africa—which altered Africa's relationships internally and externally and resulted in the colonial subjugation of many African peoples—and the role of slavery within the United States.

The African people transported to slavery within the U.S. became the basis of and impetus for the most rapid rate of original capitalist accumulation in history. Every people, on every continent, has passed through one or another form of slavery in the course of world history. But slavery in the United States was unique: it was the most massive, the most brutal type, because it was directly tied to the capitalist market, to the rise of capitalism. Karl Marx wrote:

... as soon as people, whose production still moves within the lower forms of slave-labour ... are drawn into the whirlpool of an international market dominated by the capitalistic mode of production, the sale of their products for export becoming their principal interest, the civilized horrors of overwork are grafted on the barbaric horrors of slavery, serfdom, etc. ... But in proportion, as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the over-working of the Negro and sometimes using up of his life in 7 years of labor became a factor in a calculated and calculating system. It was no longer a question of obtaining from him a certain quantity of useful products. It was now a question of production of surplus-labor itself. (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 236, International Publishers, 1967.)

Many times Marx compared the inhuman exploitation of workers in the textile mills of England and New England in the pre-organization days of the working class with that of the slaves in the South. *At the same time, Marx did not confuse analogies in intensity of exploitation with scientific explanations, as do the contemporary advocates of the colony theory. Marx never lost sight of the distinction between the nature and role of exploitation on a directly capitalist basis.*

Marx, for instance, quoted this statement from the County Magistrate of Nottingham, which appeared in the *London Daily Telegram* of January 17, 1860:

... There was an amount of privation and suffering among that portion of the population connected with the lace trade, unknown in other parts of the kingdom, indeed, in the civilized world. ... Children of nine or ten years are dragged from their squalid beds at two, three, or four o'clock in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until ten, eleven, or twelve at night, their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor, utterly horrible to contemplate.

... We declaim against the Virginian and Carolinian cotton-planters. Is their black market, their lash, and their barter of human flesh more detestable than this slow sacrifice of humanity which takes place in order that veils and collars may be fabricated for the benefit of capitalists? (*Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.)

As Marx demonstrated, the intensity of exploitation—though it required different strategies of struggle—developed for a considerable period of time, in England and the Northern United States, along parallel lines with that of slavery in the Southern United States. Marx quoted the following from a speech of a member of the House of Commons, April 27, 1863:

The cotton trade has existed for ninety years. ... It has existed for three generations of the English race, and I believe I may safely say that during that period it has destroyed nine generations of factory operatives. (*Ibid.*, p. 267.)

Then Marx went on to state:

That which today, e.g., in the State of Massachusetts, until recently the freest State of the North-American Republic, has been proclaimed as the statutory limit of the labour of children under 12, as in England, even in the middle of the 17th century, the normal working-day of able-bodied artisans, robust labourers, athletic blacksmiths. (*Ibid.*, p. 271.)

These are some of the many examples Marx used to show the relationship between the effects of the rise of slavery in



the South and the rise of the capitalist mode of production in the North and in England.

But in making these analogies in human misery, Marx—unlike those who now make an analogy between colonial oppression and the oppression of the descendants of slaves in the U.S.—always sought out the *specific* strategy of liberation of the oppressed and exploited.

For example, the emerging proletariat, still in its unorganized state, suffered inhuman exploitation comparable to that of the slaves in the South. But the development of capitalism opened up the material basis for collective *class* resistance of the workers; while the slaves, within a different and lower form of production, did not have the objective possibility of carrying out anything except fragmented, though heroic, struggles.

Marx saw that "The establishment of a normal working-day is the result of centuries of struggle between capitalist and labourer." (Ibid., p. 270.) He saw this struggle as the center and generator of the class struggle. And, along with Frederick Douglass, he was in the forefront of forging the broad strategy to destroy the slave power. He knew that only when the oppressed Blacks became a part of the same mode of production as the other exploited could the class struggle in North America achieve the full collective might of labor with a Black skin joined to labor with a white skin.

And Marx warned that just as the English ruling class used religious and national prejudices to divide the Irish and English working class, the U.S. capitalist class would do all in its power to disfigure and divide the class struggle through racist practices and ideology in order to hold off the day when Black and white labor would lead the struggle against monopoly capital and achieve what Marx's and Douglass' strategy achieved in ending the slaveocracy.

### *A Different Liberation Strategy*

Marx recognized that the strategy of struggle under slavery could not be the same as that against capitalist exploitation. And today, despite similarities in oppression, the liberation strategy for the oppressed Black minority in the U.S. cannot be the same as that for a colony. Both, for example, need and would be greatly aided by allies on an international scale; but the Black liberation movement requires first of all a strategy that involves *internal* allies.

While Marx demonstrated what was similar in the intensity of exploitation under slavery and capitalism, he also showed what was different in the nature of the oppression of the slaves as compared with that of "free" labor. Along with Frederick Douglass, Marx developed a strategy that combined the struggles of slave and "free" labor within the Abolition movement. Because of this strategy, Marx and Douglass were able to combat and overcome weaknesses in the Abolition movement and bring about a broader anti-slavery coalition, resulting in national power strong enough to defeat the slavocracy.

This strategy succeeded because Marx and Douglass distinguished between the condition of the oppressed Blacks in the U.S. and those coming under colonial subjugation in Africa and elsewhere. Despite the similarities in this oppression, Marx and Douglass based their strategy on the specific economic and political developments in the U.S. It was a strategy in which the fate of the slaves was recognized as more immediately tied to that of "free" white labor in the North than to Black people within the African colonies.

In the course of advancing their closely parallel antislavery strategies, Marx and Douglass strongly advocated the principle of international solidarity of the oppressed and exploited—while recognizing that each struggle develops under different conditions.

### *A New Sophistication*

The monopoly-controlled publishers have been demonstrating a new sophistication in the books they issue by radical writers on the colony theory and other subjects. But there has also been a spate of materials *written*, as well as published, by direct representatives of the ruling class, and these, too, display in many cases a new sophistication.

Take, for example, the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, which made quite a stir when it was published a few years ago. Popularly known as "The Kerner Report," it was the work of the commission, headed by former Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, which President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed following the 1967 ghetto upsurges in Newark and Detroit.

In substance, this massive report is no different from its predecessors dealing with "civil disorders"; in 600 pages of historical and contemporary material on the Black experience, it avoids any mention of the *class* source of racist oppression. And the "solutions" offered by the report are also an echo of the past, as the well-known Black scholar Dr. Kenneth B. Clark in effect forecast when he appeared at the hearings of the National Advisory Commission:

I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading a report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '42, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

I must again in candor say to you members of this commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, the same inaction. (*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Bantam Books, New York, 1968, p. 483.)

In its class essence, the "Kerner Report," issued after these hearings, reflects the same state monopoly capital interests as the report of the McCone Commission, which was chaired by John J. McCone, former head of the CIA and currently an official of ITT, the giant conglomerate so actively involved in Wall Street's and Washington's efforts to block freedom struggles in Chile and other parts of the world, as well as in this country.

However, there *is* an interesting difference between the Kerner Report and its predecessors—its "solutions" are presented in a more sophisticated style, even including echoes of the rhetoric used by the radicals who have popularized the "internal colony" theory.

Where the McCone Commission spoke in the language of "law and order" to maintain segregation and racist oppression, the Kerner Report adapts radical concepts for the same purpose, as well as for diverting the mass struggles of the oppressed.

In the hands of the Kerner Commission, the pseudo-revolutionary "Black colony" concept becomes a liberal admonition, a "warning" that the country is divided into "two societies" and that this may become a permanent condition:

To continue present policies is to make permanent the division of our country into two societies; one Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other predominantly white and affluent, located in the suburbs and outlying areas. (*Ibid.*, p. 22.)

The resemblance between this statement and the "Black colony" theory is inescapable: *all* the radical adherents of this concept also assert that the country is composed of "two societies."

But two separate societies do not and *cannot* exist in the United States. *The segregation and triple oppression of Black people occur within a single system, a system that locks all forms of class and racist oppression into one society based on the same economy.*

The concept of separate societies—whether presented in terms of an “internal colony” or “two societies”—obscures rather than explains the special character of segregation and triple oppression of Black people within the *same* society, the *same* economic system dominated by the *same* racist monopolists who control the lives of the white as well as the Black masses.

Those in the Black liberation movement who advance the idea of “two societies” or an “internal colony” inevitably become attracted to the separatist fantasy of a “Black revolution,” i.e., a revolution without allies; or to the other extreme of the same separatist illusion—“Black capitalism.”

### *Monopoly's Role Obscured*

The Kerner Report advances the “internal colony” concept of “two societies” in order to promote directly the separatist fantasy of “Black capitalism.” But in doing this it simultaneously feeds illusions about a separatist “Black revolution.” By concealing the special character of Black oppression, the Kerner Report seeks to divert the oppressed from a strategy of liberation as a people within a single economy and a single society.

In pursuing its “two societies” theme, the Commission also projects the fantasy of a “predominantly white and affluent society,” thus obscuring monopoly's role in the special oppression of Black people as a whole, the superexploitation of Black workers, and the exploitation of white workers.

In this way, the Commission suggests a complementary fantasy, i.e., that the conditions and class interests of white workers on the GM assembly line are identical with those of the GM Board of Directors and are therefore contradictory to those of their fellow Black workers.

The Kerner Report skillfully uses the “radical” concepts of the advocates of separatism to camouflage its Washing-

ton-Wall Street strategy. It exploits the “separate society” – “separate colony” theory in an effort to divert the Black liberation movement with the allurements of the “Black capitalism” fantasy of “ghetto enrichment.” “We believe,” states the Kerner Report, “that the only possible course for America” is a policy “which combines ghetto enrichment with programs designed to encourage integration of substantial numbers of Negroes into society as a whole.” (Ibid., p. 24.)

When the commission suggests that a “substantial number” (read: a small minority of the Black petty bourgeoisie) be given a limited degree of opportunity outside the ghetto, while the vast majority—offered the illusion of “enrichment” via the fantasy of “Black capitalism”—are to continue to be contained within the ghetto, we can see the link revealed more clearly between the “two societies” and “internal colony” theory and monopoly's strategy against the Black liberation movement.

For serving the aim of the monopolists, the Black bourgeoisie is offered the myth of ghetto “enrichment,” a euphemism for the permanent segregation and inequality of Black people within the single economy of monopoly capitalism.

The only path for “enrichment” of the people is through a great anti-monopoly formation, with Black and white workers at its center and in its leadership, which—in moving to break the power of monopoly over the total economy—can bring about Black liberation and end poverty and exploitation for all.

The concept of an “underdeveloped,” “colonized” people represents a backward step from the direction taken by Martin Luther King before his death. In fact, such concepts were often advanced as a substitute for King's increasing orientation on Black workers united with all the exploited and oppressed in struggle against the ruling class.

The programs advanced by those who advocate the “internal colony” and “underdevelopment” concept are not

aimed at challenging monopoly through struggle against racism, inequality and poverty. Instead, they offer either the rhetoric of "revolution" or the illusion of "Black capitalism" as alternatives to mass struggle.

Substituting the "underdevelopment" concept for that of struggle against racist oppression and class exploitation is not just a question of semantics. The idea of "underdevelopment" in the ghettos would bury the struggle against racism, poverty and war by obscuring the fact that the oppression of Black people arises directly out of the national economy, which is totally controlled by state monopoly capitalism.

### *Nixon Exploits the Fantasy*

Richard M. Nixon also exploits the fantasy of the Black people determining their own destiny through the perpetuation of ghetto enclaves. In a radio broadcast on March 28, 1968, Nixon stated that it was his aim that the Black people should have power "over their own destinies, the power to affect their own communities . . . the power that comes from participation in the political and economic processes of society."

Nixon then went on to make it clear that by "participation in the political and economic processes of society," *he meant the continued exclusion of Black people from equal participation in the economic and political life of this society as a whole.* Along with the bourgeois liberals of the Kerner Commission and the "radical" adherents of the "internal colony" idea, Nixon based himself on the "two societies" concept. And upon this false premise he projects his own strategy for the defense of corporate monopoly.

"What we do *not* need now," continued Nixon in a broadcast on April 25, 1968, "is another round of unachievable promises of unavailable funds. What we *do* need is imaginative enlistment of private funds, private energies and private talents, in order to develop the opportunities that lie un-

tapped in our *underdeveloped* urban heartland." (My italics—H.W.)

Here, of course, we see how the anti-Marxist concept of Black Americans as a "colonized" people living within "underdeveloped" urban enclaves fits right into Nixon's racist, imperialist ideology and strategy. This strategy seeks to impose on the Black people a "Nixonized" version of Booker T. Washington's "self-help" submission to racism, segregation, poverty and inequality. According to this idea, Black people should not demand equal participation in the nation's total economy, but should instead determine "their own destinies" through "Black capitalism" within the ghettos, shut off from the economy they helped build.

To accept the colony analogy in *any* form is to allow pseudo-radical theories to condition us to accept imperialist ideology, and thus to submit to monopoly capitalism's offensive against the Black liberation movement.

Unlike a subjugated people who form a majority within a viable though *underdeveloped* economy, this country's Black minority is segregated within the urban ghettos *not because of underdevelopment but because of racism and inequality within the most highly developed economy in the capitalist world.*

The populations of the so-called "underdeveloped" ghettos in the "urban heartland" of the U.S. are certainly more directly a part of the *laboring* process of the *single* developed economy of this country than, for example, many better-off white suburban ghettos of the country.

When Nixon speaks of "unachievable promises and unavailable funds" for Black people, he is simultaneously trying to use the power of the Federal Government to make good his promises to Wall Street to make funds available for imperialist profits and aggression, instead of for the needs of the people.

The true "opportunities that lie untapped" in the urban ghettos consist of maximum mobilization of the Black masses in the struggle for full equality and unrestricted political and economic participation in order equally to share

in the highly developed economy built through more than 350 years of Black oppression and super-exploitation.

The Black people in the U.S. will reject the misleading, though radical-sounding, colony analogy because they will not accept permanent inequality in the guise of overcoming "underdevelopment" within the most industrially developed economy in the world. And while rejecting the "tokenism" inherent in the colony theory, the Black people will just as resolutely reject the pseudo-revolutionism that it gives rise to.

The colony theory lends the appearance of nationalist militancy to cover both conservative and "radical" accommodations to state monopoly capitalism—accommodation to new and devious forms of "self-help" which amount to no more than fake alternatives to struggle against the racist oppressors.

### *Differences Outweigh Similarities*

Of course there are many similarities between the oppression of the Black minority in the U.S. and of present and former imperialist-controlled colonies. But in terms of strategy for the Black liberation movement in the U.S., the differences in status outweigh the similarities in oppression.

In colonially-subjugated countries, the people's movement emerges in the struggle for independence from foreign domination of the country and its economy. When independence is won, the economy of the country, depending on circumstances, comes either under the control of the people or of the national bourgeoisie allied with and accommodating itself to neo-colonialism.

But can the struggle against racist oppression in this country enable either the Black bourgeoisie or the Black masses, a minority within the country, to take control of the state and the economy? Even to ask the question suggests the absurdity of the "Black colony" or "Black capitalism" concept.

Those who use the colonial theory as the basis for advocating "Black capitalism" do so in the hopeless effort to somehow give the word "capitalism" a revolutionary sound. In fact, placing "Black" next to "capitalism" is supposed to cancel out the negatives that people now associate with capitalism. Even to get the ear of the Black masses, any proposed solution to the hard fact of oppression must at least appear to have a revolutionary potential.

At a time when the people's anti-imperialist movements all over the world—from Hanoi to Santiago—find that even independence does not mean liberation unless a non-capitalist, socialist direction is taken, it is ironic that some in the Black liberation movement who like to consider themselves revolutionary, propose "Black capitalism" as the solution to oppression.

Those who talk of taking over the economy of the ghettos either through "Black revolution" or "Black capitalism" fail to understand the fundamental difference between the position and demands of a colonial people and those of the oppressed Black people in the U.S.

When freed of imperialist control, the colony has the possibility of developing a separate, viable economy on its own territory. But the ghetto enclaves across the country cannot form the basis for a viable economic life apart from the nation's total economy—either on a capitalist or a socialist basis.

Unlike colonies, the ghettos scattered across the country have no economy and territory that can be separated from the monopoly-controlled economy dominating every nook and cranny of the country, including the ghettos. Moreover, unlike colonies, there are no riches in the form of oil, minerals and agricultural products to be extracted from the ghettos.

Overlooking the history of capitalism in this and other countries, the advocates of "Black capitalism" pursue the illusion that the white monopolists stand ready to share their control of the country's economy with Black capital-

ists. This is particularly ludicrous since any would-be Black capitalist can recount the difficulties he faces in even trying to get a petty loan from the Small Business Administration to get his projected business venture off the ground.

Black business has always been marginal even within the ghetto. And capitalism in its present stage takes the form of giant conglomerates that increasingly devour *all* small business. Any possible "enrichment" for Black business lies not within monopoly's strategy of perpetuating the ghettos but within a broad all-encompassing people's strategy—an anti-monopoly movement in which the primary force is the working class, Black, white, Brown, Yellow and Red, together with the organized Black liberation movement as a whole.

### *Ghettos, Descendants of Slave Quarters*

A liberation movement in a colony consists of a majority struggling to take over the economic life of a common territory. But Black liberation in the U.S. cannot be based on a colonial strategy of political independence to be won for a majority within a common territory and a viable economy. The ghettos of this country, despite the intensity of their oppression, are economically and politically unlike a colony. These ghettos are the descendants of the original Southern slave quarters, and as economic units they are no more viable than were their forerunners on the plantations.

A colony, which always has a common economy and territory, is usually geographically separated from the "mother" country. But whether separated or adjacent, a colony's economy is detachable from the imperialist country to which it is linked. When we speak of colonial economies, we are talking about diamonds, cocoa, sugar, cotton, bananas, copper, spices, oil, silver, coffee, tin, jute, gold, uranium, tea, nickel—the sources of untold billions in imperialist super-profits. The raw materials of industry and

agriculture are found in the colonies—but not on the barren, rubble-littered streets of a U.S. ghetto.

In the colonies, some of the key imperialist investments go into developing mechanized means of transporting the resources of mine and field from the colony to the "mother" country. In U.S. ghettos, such as Watts, the monopolists do not provide even the semblance of adequate human transportation despite the fact that the majority of Black workers have to travel long distances to jobs—if they can get them—outside the ghetto.

In a colony, the agricultural and other raw materials come from a common territory with more than ample scope for development—the consistent hallmark of such colonies is always and everywhere their underdevelopment. Obviously, this underdevelopment cannot be equated with the condition of economic, social and political inequality within the ghettos of the U.S.

Central to a colony's underdevelopment is the imperialist's export of capital for the purpose of controlling its resources and economy. No matter how great the extent of imperialist penetration into a colony, *imperialism prevents production of the means of production.*

As a consequence, many former colonies and semi-independent countries remain underdeveloped and tightly controlled by neo-colonialism except, in today's context, when and to the degree that they join with the world anti-imperialist forces, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, break the shackles of neo-colonialism and take the non-capitalist path of development toward socialism.

### *Are Ghettos Detachable from U.S. Economy?*

The people who live and toil in a colony earn their living within that colony. But do the majority of the people of Harlem, Watts, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Chicago's South Side, etc., earn their living in these ghettos? Are these ghettos



geographically separated or detachable from U.S. monopoly capitalism—except in the eyes of those who confuse segregation with economy and geography? Do these ghettos possess fields, mines, oil wells and an economy separate or detachable from the U.S. economy? A colony does have the possibility of providing complete economic, social and political, development for its people. But is this possible in a Harlem or a Watts?

Stokely Carmichael claims that it *is* possible. He equates the barren ghettos with colonies that have provided the raw materials for the super-profits of imperialism. He states:

The struggle for Black Power in the United States, and certainly around the world, is the struggle to free these colonies from external domination, but we do not seek merely to create communities where black rulers replace white rulers, controlling the lives of black masses and where black money goes into a few black pockets. We want to see it go into the communal pocket . . . (*Stokely Speaks*, by Stokely Carmichael, Vintage Books, New York, 1971, p. 87.)

Carmichael's rhetoric about "black money" going into the "communal pocket" contributes nothing to the struggle to put money into the pockets of unemployed, underemployed and underpaid Black masses. That requires a different strategy.

In equating U.S. ghettos with colonies, Carmichael also distorts the meaning of Black power. He equates the strategy of Black liberation with that of colonial peoples fighting for independence and liberation. Despite his radical rhetoric, what Carmichael proposes closely parallels the "Black capitalism" myth of "enrichment" within the ghetto advanced by Nixon and other advocates of segregation and inequality.

That Carmichael's program is camouflaged as "communal" instead of capitalist does not conceal its accommodation to racism and oppression; power and liberation for the Black people cannot be won via a separatist "strategy" based

on the illusion that they can be found within the confines of the ghetto.

When we talk about power, we are talking about political power—the shift of power from one class to another. The Civil War resulted in the change of power from the slave-owners to the rising capitalist class. Today the monopoly capitalist class controls the total economy of the United States. Therefore, all talk of self-determination in the ghetto is a fraud. And this certainly includes the concept—called "Ujamaa"—advanced by Imamu Amiri Baraka:

*Ujamaa* (Cooperative Economics)—To build and maintain our own stores, shops, and other businesses and to profit together from them.

Baraka offers not a strategy for Black liberation but a recipe for bourgeois nationalist accommodation to the white ruling class against the interests of the Black people. The Black bourgeoisie will share in the limited Black market, while the mass of the Black people are diverted from the wider anti-monopoly struggles for equality and jobs—that is, for jobs where, as and if they can be found, outside the ghetto.

### *An Indivisible Part of National Economy*

If the possibility of a separate economy for Black people in the U.S. ever existed, it was before Southern agriculture was transformed into large-scale capitalist agriculture. With the massive penetration of monopoly capital throughout the South, any possibility whatsoever for a separate economy disappeared. The area of the former Black majority in the South became an indivisible part of the total national economy, in which Wall Street, not cotton, is king.

In the period between the betrayal of Reconstruction and the end of World War II, while the majority of the former

slaves worked the land as sharecroppers and tenant farmers—a serflike condition somewhere between chattel slavery and wage labor—the economy of the South was gripped in a process of dual development. Though coming more and more within the orbit of the national economy, the South—and especially the area of continuing Black majority—still retained aspects of differentiation from the country's total economy. The pattern of economic development in the area of Black majority was until recently neither fully separate nor identical with the national economy.

It was in the period when the South's dual process of development had not yet brought its economy fully into the national pattern of monopoly control, and along with it the shifting of the former Black majority to the urban ghettos, that the Communist Party was organized. It developed from the Left forces within the old Socialist Party and the Left forces that emerged from the struggles of Black people in the post World War I era.

A central difference between the Left and the Right in the old Socialist Party was the rejection by the founders of the Communist Party of the anti-Marxist, simplistic denial of the special character of racist oppression in the U.S. While the Communist Party saw from its inception that the struggle against racist oppression was part of the class struggle, it also recognized that Blacks were oppressed as a people and that labor with a white skin and labor with a Black skin could not be free unless the special demands of the triply oppressed Black people were put at the center of the struggle for progress and socialism.

At that time the Communists based their approach to Black liberation on an analysis of this continuing duality in Southern development. In October, 1930, the following resolution was adopted at a Congress of the Communist International, describing this duality and its significance for the Black people:

It is not correct to consider the Negro zone of the South as a colony of the United States. Such a characterization of the Black Belt could be based in some respects only upon artificially construed analogies, and would create superfluous difficulties for the clarification of ideas. In rejecting this estimation, however, it should not be overlooked that it would be none the less false to try to make a fundamental distinction between the character of national oppression to which the colonial peoples are subjected and the yoke of other oppressed nations. Fundamentally, national oppression in both cases is of the same character, and is in the Black Belt in many respects worse than in a number of actual colonies. On one hand the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically, such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States. But on the other hand, this zone is not, either economically or politically, such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country.

This analysis was made at a time when the duality in the South's development had not yet culminated in the changes which would eventually wipe out the main differential between its economy, with its huge Black majority territory, and that of the rest of the country. At that time the Communist Party adopted a program calling for the right of self-determination in the area of Black majority in the South, *but even then the Party placed the primary, immediate emphasis in every struggle, North and South, on the fight for full equality.*

Some may feel there is room for differences on whether the Party was correct in adopting the program of the right to self-determination in the Black Belt—a policy it discarded after the South's economy had become an integral, undetachable part of the total economy of state monopoly capitalism. This basic change in the South's economy was accompanied by a fundamental shift in Black/white population ratios in the South, one that above all meant the reduction of the former Black majority in the 189 counties comprising the Black Belt. In turn, this transformed the existence of the majority of the Black people from agrarian to urban in character.

But when the Communist Party advanced the slogan of the right of self-determination, the circumstances were fundamentally different from those of today. By contrast, adherents of the "Black colony" theory continue to advance the idea of self-determination *when it no longer has even the semblance of a relationship to present-day economic and political reality*. As a result, the colony analogy has given rise to distorted, anti-Marxist variations of the slogan of self-determination sometimes in the form of "Black capitalism," sometimes as "revolutionary" self-determination in the scattered ghettos of the country.

Of course there are profound historic differences between earlier period when the Communist Party advanced the slogan of the right of self-determination and today when, among the adherents of the "Black colony" theory some can be found advocating a conservative, some a "revolutionary" form of self-determination. The reasons are many.

For one, the area of Black majority in the South is gone. Yet even more important than this change are the basic economic and political differences *underlying* the shift of the Black majority from the rural South to the big urban ghettos—North, South, East and West. This mass population shift, literally involving millions, reflects a *transformation* in the *class composition* of the overwhelming majority of the oppressed Black people.

From a predominantly agrarian population constituting a majority in a vast contiguous Black Belt and plantation area, the oppressed Black people, goaded by hunger and fleeing oppression, have been transformed in their overwhelming majority from peasants to proletarians—suffering new forms of super-exploitation and racist discrimination within the total national economy under the control of corporate monopoly.

It was in this context that James E. Jackson, a leader of the Communist Party, wrote:

The objective factors operating in relation to the Negro people in the United States are working not in the direction of national

insularity or separate development of its nationhood. . . .  
(*Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the U.S.*, February 1959, p. 11.)

### ***Contrast with the Status of Puerto Rico***

One need only contrast the status of the people of Puerto Rico and their relationship to U.S. imperialism with that of the oppressed Black people to expose the fallacy of the "internal colony" analogy.

While the analogy suggests some of the common features of oppression, it conceals the fundamentally different position of Afro-Americans from that of Puerto Ricans within the system of U.S. monopoly oppression. As a result, it obscures the basically different strategy and demands required by the Black liberation movement in the U.S. compared to the Puerto Rican or other independence movements against neo- or semi-colonial rule.

The people of Puerto Rico occupy a territory in which they are a majority. Puerto Rico's economy, now linked to and dominated by U.S. imperialism, is—as was Cuba's—detachable from the U.S. economy. And the first demand of the Puerto Rican people—like that of the Cuban struggle, which opened the way for national and social liberation—is for political independence: Puerto Rico is forcibly kept within the orbit of U.S. monopoly capitalism under the so-called "Commonwealth" formula. This demand for *political independence* represents the *starting point* of the Puerto Rican strategy for sovereign control of Puerto Rico, its economy and government.

The bourgeois nationalists of Puerto Rico, however, continue to oppose political independence. To the demand for independence, they counterpose the myth of Puerto Ricans *jointly* determining their future with the U.S. within the "Commonwealth."

It is interesting in this connection to see what Lenin wrote concerning radicals in his time who misunderstood the meaning of the right to self-determination:

Our Polish comrades like this last argument, on *joint* determination instead of *self*-determination, so much that they repeat it *three times* in their theses! . . . All reactionaries and bourgeois grant to nations forcibly retained within the frontiers of a given state the right to "determine jointly" their fate in a common parliament. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 322.)

And today we see how the position of the Puerto Rican bourgeois nationalists merges with that of U.S. imperialism; for Puerto Rico—which has its own separate economy on the common territory occupied by the Puerto Rican people—the monopolists do not fear to offer the "right" to "determine jointly" with the U.S. Congress the fate of that country.

Any formula for so-called joint control of Puerto Rico is a fraud, a one-way street. The Puerto Rican liberation movement is not out for joint control or participation in the U.S. economy in any form—it *is* demanding an end to so-called joint control of its economy.

In Puerto Rico, the Puerto Ricans constitute more than a majority—apart from the handful of representatives of U.S. imperialism, they make up the *entire* population. On the other hand, the Black liberation movement represents a minority which seeks equality in determining the economic and political life of the U.S. But the ruling class does all in its power here to prevent, to stifle, to block the right of Black people to determine, "jointly" or otherwise, or even to share in the economy of this country along with all other segments of the oppressed and impoverished.

Of course, the oppressed and exploited within the U.S. do not have the objective of even becoming "partners" in a joint enterprise with U.S. imperialism! The task of the majority of the people of all races and backgrounds, under

the leadership of Black and white workers, is to break the power of monopoly over the government and the economy. It is this anti-monopoly struggle—which cannot be waged by the Black minority alone, but only in unity with the non-Black majority—that alone can bring about *joint power* to the people and control of the economy.

U.S. imperialism uses and has always used its economic and military power to oppose self-determination in Puerto Rico, Vietnam, Chile and the other countries throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America where the people have in some degree their own separate economies. Ironically, it is this same U.S. imperialism that deliberately fosters every form of separatist fantasy for Black people, including "self-determination" for a people who have no common territory or separate economy but whose population on the contrary is dispersed in more than 160 major urban ghettos around the country. The same U.S. monopolists who propose "joint control" of Puerto Rico with the Puerto Ricans offer Black people the trap of "self-determination" in ghettos where that is impossible—either in the form of "Black capitalism," Baraka's "cooperative economics" or Carmichael's "communal" concept.

Black liberation in the U.S. calls for a strategy the exact opposite of Puerto Rican and other liberation movements outside the U.S. In colonial and dependent countries, the people's aim is to break the links that artificially tie their economies to imperialism. A liberating strategy for Black Americans does not involve a break with the U.S. economy, but instead must aim at *overcoming forcible exclusion of Black people from their rightful participation in the U.S. economy: The goal here is for full equality within the total economy.*

Thus, James E. Jackson wrote:

The path of development of the Negro people toward individual and national equality does not take the route of struggle for national independence and political-geographical sovereignty and statehood. The Negro people in the United

States historically, now, and most probably for the future, seek solutions to its national question in struggle for securing equality of political, economic and social status. . . . (Ibid., p. 10.)

The fact that Black people were forcibly transported to this country and held in chattel slavery for over two centuries should not be allowed to obscure the specific reality of the Black condition in the U.S. today, which has been transformed into the opposite of what it was in the past. Today, instead of being forcibly attached to the economy, Black people are increasingly excluded from it by racist discrimination and underemployment. The only path to liberation is through resistance to the forces that now forcibly separate, segregate and exclude Afro-Americans from full equality within the total economy.

### *Revolution Proceeds in Its Own Way*

Lenin wrote, "One must understand the changes and growth of every revolution. The revolution proceeds in its own way in every country . . . " (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, p. 123.) And on another occasion, Lenin declared that "different nations are advancing in the same historical direction, but by very different zigzags and bypaths . . . " (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 195.)

For colonial peoples, liberation starts with rejection of the myth that their fate can be determined "jointly" within the framework of the tight controls that link it to the U.S. economy. For the Black people in the U.S., on the other hand, liberation is realizable only on the basis of overcoming exclusion and inequality through an anti-monopoly movement, in which the Black people and all who are exploited by the common corporate enemy seek to establish *joint* control of the country's economy. It is within such a revolutionary process that Black people will gain full and equal participation in the entire economy, and equality of repre-

sentation in all aspects of the social, political, economic and governmental life of the country.

The ideology of separatism, of determining "Black destiny" on a go-it-alone path—rejecting united action with non-Black opponents of monopoly power—is in today's context equivalent to the idea of emigration to Canada or Africa counterposed by some as an alternative to Douglass' strategy of forming an anti-slave power coalition—the strategy which did ultimately bring an end to chattel slavery.

This becomes most apparent when one considers the parallelism between the separatist ideology of Imamu Amiri Baraka and the racism of George Wallace—a contemporary version of the pre-Civil War parallelism between Black emigrationism and the American Colonizing Society, formed by slavery-supporting antecedents of George Wallace for the ostensible purpose of returning slaves to Africa. However, the real purpose of the American Colonization Society was not to abolish but reinforce slavery by stimulating separatist tendencies aimed at bringing about the withdrawal of Black people from the emerging Black and white *majority* movement against the slave power.

Today there is a coincidence between the Baraka and the Wallace stand on busing—but for both it is a false issue. Nixon, Wallace and Baraka have demagogically inflated this issue at a time when less than 3% of busing is used to alleviate school segregation. Wallace and Baraka are well aware that busing is only a small part of the school segregation question, but each has his own separate but parallel ideological and political motives for opposing it.

Wallace exploits the busing issue in order to serve the pro-fascist forces of monopoly capital, who aim at preventing the unity of Black and white—especially of Black and white labor—by vastly intensifying the ideology and patterns of racism. Baraka's opposition to busing is related to his strategy of exploiting every issue in order to promote the ideology and politics of separatism, of withdrawal from the struggle against the racist monopolists Wallace serves.



Separatism also distorts the meaning of valid features of the struggle for Black liberation. For instance, all varieties of separatist ideology, including Baraka's and Carmichael's, equate "community control" and Black institutions with liberation. Black institutions and control of communities in which Black people constitute a majority are a vital part of the struggle for liberation. *But Black liberation can develop only as a part of a wider struggle for "national control" over the economic and political life of the entire country, a struggle which cannot be carried out by Black people alone.*

There is no realistic basis for the Black people determining their lives through a strategy limiting the struggle to "community control"—which is but one of the key starting points in the struggle to take national control out of the hands of the monopoly power.

There are some, however, who will admit that "self-determination" in the ghettos is impossible—but who nevertheless entertain an equally unrealistic view: by expanding the idea of community control to Black control of a separate state, these forces maintain that the concept of Black separatism would then become a viable instead of an illusory one.

However, the reality of the matter is that the shift of national power from the monopoly oppressors to the people calls for a wider strategy in which the self-action of the Black minority becomes a vital, independent part of the total struggle in alliance with the non-Black majority against the common enemy.

### ***Baraka Exploits the Views of Nyerere and Senghor***

While radicals such as James Boggs, Stokely Carmichael and James Foreman falsely attach a "Marxist" label to their variations on the theme of separatism, Imamu Amiri Baraka, an openly anti-Marxist bourgeois nationalist, exploits the

views of Julius K. Nyerere and Leopold Sedar Senghor to advance his divisive separatist aims. For instance, in calling for "Ujamaa, collective or cooperative economics," Baraka says it is the 'traditional' way of distributing wealth for the Black man." But, he points out, "Ujamaa is not, as it has been said, 'African Socialism'. . . . Ujamaa has always been the African *attitude* towards the distribution of wealth.

. . . It has never been a European attitude, but rather a *theory*. Can you get it?" (See Julius Nyerere's paper *Ujamaa in Uhuru na Umoja*.) Italics in the original.

Baraka uses the "outer forms" of African tradition in order to mystify—i.e., to conceal his adherence to capitalism in both Africa and the United States. There are differences as well as similarities in Nyerere's conception of Ujamaa as "African socialism" and Baraka's Ujamaa as "collective or cooperative economics."

Even a cursory examination of Nyerere's views reveals that when he refers to "African Socialism," he is really talking about African capitalism:

In the individual, as in the society, it is an attitude of mind which distinguishes the socialist from the non-socialist. It has nothing to do with the possession or non-possession of wealth.

. . . The basic difference between a socialist society and a capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed. (Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru Na Umoja*, by Julius K. Nyerere, Oxford University Press, London, 1967, pp. 162-163.)

In the traditional African society, Nyerere states:

Both the "rich" and the "poor" individual were completely secure . . . Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That was socialism. That is socialism . . . Socialism is essentially distributive. Its concern is to see that those who sow reap a fair share of what they sow. (*Ibid.*, p. 164.)



Nyerere equates the early, classless African tribal society with the present day. But today there is no "traditional" or "third" way for countries that have broken the external chains of imperialism: they must take either a capitalist or non-capitalist path. Those who take the path of capitalism become involved in submission to new forms of imperialist domination.

On the other hand, those countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which take the non-capitalist path and move toward socialism—are able to consolidate independence and insure liberation on the basis of internal socialist development and with the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, together with the worldwide anti-imperialist forces of class and national liberation.

When Nyerere says that "Socialism is essentially a distributive system," he reveals his hesitancy to break with the internal and external opponents of scientific socialism for his country, Tanzania. Socialism is based on abolition of capitalist control of the means of production. Nyerere's so-called "distributive system" would imply simply to allow the means of production to remain in the hands of a developing capitalist class. He makes this very clear when he says:

Just as the Elder, in our former society was respected for his age and his service to the community, so, in our modern society, this respect for age and service will be preserved. And in the same way as the "rich" Elder's apparent wealth was really only held by him in trust for his people, so, today, the apparent extra wealth which certain positions of leadership may bring to the individuals who fill them, can be theirs only insofar as it is a necessary aid to the carrying out of their duties. (Ibid., p. 168.)

This, of course, is Nyerere's rationale for denying the development of classes. In the meantime the new bourgeoisie are gaining control of the economy of Tanzania. For Nyerere, these newly rich Tanzanians are not capitalist ex-

ploiters. They are the "Elders," the preservers of the ancient traditions of African "communal" society.

In exploiting Nyerere, Baraka calls for "the African attitude toward the distribution of wealth" in monopoly controlled United States. His purpose is to divert the mass struggle against the class controlling the means of production—which, in the United States, means the monopolies, who control the entire economy.

But for Baraka, monopoly control is irrelevant. In effect, he calls for submission to instead of struggle against monopoly. He would pacify the Black liberation movement with the fantasy of an "African attitude towards the distribution of wealth"—which could mean only the continued distribution of poverty instead of jobs to the ghetto millions.

Baraka's concept of "race" and a "nation" is also based on exploiting Senghor's ideology of Negritude. In Senegal, Senghor's ideology of Negritude is turned into an instrument for enrichment of a tiny minority and of accommodation to new forms of colonialism. In the U.S., the role of Baraka, who exploits the ideology of Negritude, *reveals that all forms of separatism—whether his own "militant" rightist variety or one or another "leftist" variation—serve to separate, to divert the Black working class from leadership of the liberation movement.*

*There is a profound difference in the objective role of Nyerere and Senghor, and that of Baraka, despite the fact that Baraka, for his own purposes, seeks to project himself in the image of the views of these two African statesmen.*

Both Nyerere and Senghor, though inconsistently, operate within the framework of the struggles for the independence of their own, and of all African countries. On the other hand Baraka's role is to subordinate the Black Liberation Movement in the U.S. to the aims of bourgeois nationalist accommodation to racist monopoly at home—and to the new phase of U.S. imperialism's neo-colonialist strategy against African liberation.

Baraka plays with the symbols of Africa's past, adapting them to his own separatist aims in order to evade the sub-

stance of the Black condition and the imperative of an anti-monopoly strategy for Black liberation in the U.S.

However, the majority of Afro-Americans long ago decided that their roots and rights were second to none in this country.

Even before Frederick Douglass challenged separatist concepts, strong opposition appeared to such tendencies, expressing what is to this day the main thrust of the struggles and aspirations of the Black majority. As early as January, 1817, James Forten organized a protest meeting to combat separatist influences among his people, and to oppose the American Colonization Society. This meeting, held at the Bethel Church in Philadelphia, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, our ancestors (not by choice) were the first successful cultivators of the fields of America, we, their descendants, feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessing of her luxuriant soil, which their blood enriched, and that any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this Republic. (*The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1967, p. 15.)

The resolution then went on to make it unmistakably clear that all forms of separatism were contrary to the interests of the majority of oppressed Blacks:

Resolved that we will never separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country; they are our brethren by ties of consanguinity, suffering and wrong; and we feel there is more virtue in suffering with them, than fancied advantages for the season. (*Ibid.*)

Forten believed that "any tendency" separating Black people from a strategy to win full equality within the "bosom" of the country's economy was contrary to the aspi-

rations of the Black majority. This was underscored a few months later at another protest meeting organized by Forten, which adopted a resolution written by him, stating:

Let not a purpose be assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery and which may defeat it altogether, which proffers to those who do not ask for them benefits, but which they consider injuries, and which must insure to the masses, whose prayers can only reach us, misery, suffering and slavery. (*Ibid.*, p. 16.)

The principles advocated by Forten, and later by Frederick Douglass, are still applicable. They need only be adapted to today's total industrial economy, which has been "enriched" by the blood of Forten's and Douglass' ancestors and descendants. Today, the extension of these principles means that "any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish" the Black people from full and equal participation in the national economy would indeed mean offering "to those who do not ask for them benefits, but which they consider injuries . . ."

As others said to the separatists of today: "Let not the purpose be assisted which will stay the cause" of the formation of a great new people's challenge to the common enemy—the monopolist descendants of the slave power. This is the strategy for today's Black agenda—the strategy for Black liberation.

## About the Author

"They robbed me of my sight, but not my vision." With these words in 1961 Henry Winston challenged the blindness caused by deliberate neglect of his health while imprisoned as a Communist leader under the Smith Act frameup.

Born in Mississippi in 1911, grandson of a slave, he is now National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Since first joining the Young Communist League at the age of 19, his life has been one of activism and of leadership in struggles that range from the unemployed movements and the Scottsboro trial of the 1930's, the labor organizing campaigns of pre-World War II, his own military service in that war, through the colonial and Black liberation drives of the succeeding decades. In these latter, his views and counsel frequently played an important part in shaping the policies and plans of governments, parties and leaders in Europe and in Africa. In the United States, he recently gave special attention to organizing the movement which led to the acquittal of Angela Davis.

Henry Winston has written numerous articles and pamphlets published and circulated internationally. *Strategy for a Black Agenda* is his first full-length book.